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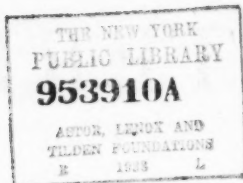
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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY, 1937.

A MANUSCRIPT OF OVID'S *HEROIDES*.

(Concluded from page 169.)

II.

SOME RESULTS ARRIVED AT FROM CONSIDERATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT O.

IN spite of the labours of Sedlmayer,¹ Ehwald² and Palmer,³ it cannot be said that there exists a completely satisfactory edition of Ovid's *Heroides*. One or all of these editors sometimes leave a corrupted text, sometimes adhere too closely to a manuscript reading, and sometimes introduce untenable emendations. A new edition is called for, with revised collations of the known manuscripts, and an augmented apparatus criticus, exhibiting the large class of what I may term the 'Vulgate' manuscripts, which represents a tradition different from, and probably later than that of our chief authority, the excellent but unfortunately incomplete eleventh-century Parisinus (P), which, like all primary manuscripts of this type, contains many readings or corruptions which should not on account of its mere authority be accepted slavishly. Light is often thrown on the text from less important sources, and the truth may be recovered from manuscripts of the 'Vulgate' family, where our better authority fails. In this connexion the study of my own manuscript (O) has led me to some conclusions in certain passages which I venture to set forth as suggestions towards an improved constitution of the text of the *Heroides*. Though it is clear from the preceding investigation into its nature that O is no primary manuscript, but belongs rather to that large class which has passed through various stages of reproduction involving alterations (as is natural in the case of so popular an author as Ovid) due either to carelessness of copyists or, more rarely, to deliberate alteration, it presents at the same time a phenomenon not unusual with such manuscripts, inasmuch as it often supports the best tradition, and in some cases preserves a reading which yields the truth, or from which the truth can be elucidated. I have used the following symbols :

P = Parisinus 8242 s. xi.

E = Etonensis s. xi.

G = Gueferbytanus s. xii.

V = Schedae Vindobonenses s. xii.

O = my manuscript s. xiv.

D = Dresdensis s. xiii.

ω = all or the majority of the 'Vulgate' manuscripts.

↳ = some of these manuscripts.

I proceed to the discussion of selected passages, which are roughly grouped together according as the manuscript O supports what appears to be the better tradition in the portions where P is deficient, either that of G or of Eω; or where it supports the tradition of PG or of P against the majority of the other manuscripts; or conversely where, with some manuscripts, it gives a reading preferable to that of PG; or where, with G and most manuscripts, it presents a reading preferable to that of P; or where, alone or along with a few manuscripts, it gives a reading preferable to that of PG; or where it agrees with P in a reading from which the truth can be elucidated.

¹ *Heroides apparatu critico instruxit et edidit* H. S. Sedlmayer. Vindobonae, 1886. *Kritischer Commentar zu Ovids Heroiden*. Wien, 1880. Verlag des k. k. Akademischen Gymnasiums.

² *Heroides ex R. Merheli recognitione ed.* R. Ehwald. Lipsiae (Teubner) 1888.

³ *Heroides ed.* A. Palmer. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1898.

vi. 3

gratulor incolumi, quantum sinis; hoc tamen ipso
debueram scripto certior esse tuo.

ipso OG ω
 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$ γε μὴν τοῦτο

ipsum Helmstadiensis (saec. xv) Planudes
P is wanting

The reading *ipso* is sound: the conjecture of Heinsius *ipsa* adopted by Ehwald, and the reading *ipsum* involving the violent conjecture of his own *debuerat*—*certius* adopted by Palmer are both unnecessary. The construction is 'I ought to have been informed of this (*hoc* accusative) by an actual letter from you' a personal letter, *ipso scripto tuo* i.q. *tuo ipsius scripto*. So *ex P. iii. 5. 15 felices quibus haec ipso cognoscere in actu . . . contigit* 'happy they who were vouchsafed to hear these words of yours at their actual delivery!' Virg. *Ec. 6. 19 incidunt ipsis ex uincula sertis* 'bonds made from the actual, his own garlands,' Tac. *Germ. 9 signum ipsum in modum liburnae figuratum* 'the actual symbol' the symbol in itself, Juvenal 12. 40 *alias (nestes) quarum generosi graminis ipsum infecit natura pecus* 'other robes the actual sheep that produced which were dyed' etc.

ii. 7

tempora si numeres, bene quae numeramus amantes,
non uenit ante suam nostra querela diem.

bene quae OE ω
P is wanting

quae nos G

Sedlmayer and Ehwald read *quae nos* in deference to G. But G is a much-corrupted manuscript, whose readings cannot be presumed necessarily to be those of P. The idiomatic *bene* ('of which we lovers keep good, i.e. exact reckoning') is clearly right. It is in Ovid's manner: vi. 24 *tactum uix bene limen erat*, vii. 90 *uix bene audito nomine*, xi. 108 *uix bene natus*, xii. 37 *quis enim bene celat amorem?* Am. iii. 8. 7 *cum bene laudauit*, Trist. v. 7. 33 *cum bene deuouit*. I suggest that *nos* originated in a gloss, which supplied the subject of *numeramus*.

ii. 11

saepe fui mendax pro te mihi, saepe putau
alba procellosos uela referre Notos.

putau OE ω

notau G

P is wanting

Here again Sedlmayer and Ehwald follow G, and read *notau*. But *putau* is preferable: *notau*, as Palmer remarked, is due to the scribe's eye having caught *Notos* in the following line.

iv. 83

siue tenes lato uenabula cornea ferro,
denique nostra iuuat lumina quidquid agis.

iuuat—agis OE ω

iuuas—agas G γ

P is wanting

Again Sedlmayer wrongly follows G and reads *iuuas—agas*, for the indicative *agis* is required to conform to the corresponding indicatives *recuruas* (79), *torques* (81), *tenes* (83). The source of the error is clear. The scribe miscopied *iuuat* as *iuuas*, and altered *agis* to *agas* that the terminations might conform. Palmer's note wrongly ascribes *iuuas* to ω .

vi. 31

ut rediit animus, tua facta requirere coepi;
narrat et aripedes Martis arasse boues.

ut rediit animus ζ Heinsius
utque redit animus OD ζ
et aripedes OE

utque animus rediit G ω
aripedes G γ

The unmetrical reading of *G et aenipedes* was remedied by Heinsius by the emendation *aenipedes* (he also needlessly conjectured in xii. 93 *aenipedes* for *aeripedes*), which is accepted by Sedlmayer and some critics. But this reading is impossible because the word *aenipes* does not exist in Latin. The only example produced is Prudentius *Symm.* i. 351 *oscula figit cruribus aenipedum*. That however is a false reading long ago expelled by Obbar (Tübingen, 1845) in favour of *aeripedum*, the reading of three tenth-century manuscripts adduced in Bergman's edition; though Bergman in his edition, *Corp. Script. Eccl.*, 1926, strangely follows Dressel in retaining *aenipedum*. The reading *narrat et aeripedes* is genuine and should be restored. It is supported by xii. 93 *iungis et aeripedes inadusto corpore tauros*, *Met.* vii. 105. *Vulcanum naribus efflant aeripedes tauri*, Val. Flacc. vii. 545 *daret aeripedes in proelia tauros*, *Virg. Aen.* vi. 802 *fixerit aeripedem ceruam*.

The meaning of *et* is 'and so,' 'and then': *Fast.* vi. 383 *iusserat, et fratris uirgo Saturnia iussis annuit*, *Met.* vi. 286 *dixerat, et sonuit contorto nervus ab arcu*, *Met.* i. 367 *dixerat, et flebant*, *Virg. Aen.* ix. 117 '*ite, deae pelagi: genetrix iubet*.' *et sua quaeque continuo puppes abrumpunt uncula ripis*. The position of *et* second word is common Ovid; Haupt *Opusc.* I. 125.

The genuineness of the couplet, bracketed as an interpolation by Ehwald and Palmer, was established by Housman, *C.R.* XI. 105.

ii. 98

Phylli, fac expectes Demophoonta tuum.

fac OPG

face Ew

Sedlmayer reads *face*, but that form is an archaism: *fac* should be retained, which is the classical form (Lindsay on *Plaut. Capt.* 359), and has best manuscript support in *H.*; 20. 152. *Med. fac.* 60: *Am.* ii. 2. 40: *A.A.* ii. 210: *Rem.* 337: *Fast.* i. 287; v. 690: *ex P.* ii. 2. 62. In Juvenal 5. 112 *face* is apparently one of Juvenal's rare archaisms. See Lucian Müller, *De re metr.* (ed. 2), p. 425.

x. 143

sed ne poena quidem.

ne OPV

nec Gw

Sedlmayer and Palmer, following G, read *nec—quidem*, but *ne—quidem* 'not either,' 'Not punishment either should be my due' should be retained, as Ehwald maintained, *Ad historium carminum Ovidianorum symbolae* (Gotha, 1892), p. 17. See Mayor on *Cic. Phil.* ii. 10.

ii. 121

maesta tamen scopulos fruticosaque litora calco
quaque patent oculis aequora lata meis.

quaque OEw

quaque PG

aequora Aldus

litora codd.

The correction *aequora* is certain, for Phyllis desired to view not the shores but the sea in search of the returning sails of Demophoon. The error *litora* is due to the scribe who miscopied it from line 121: cp. on iv. 84 above. Therefore the reading *litora*, which Ehwald retains, is impossible. Equally impossible is *quaque* PG, for Phyllis could not tread the sea, short of a miracle.

xvi. 351

terror in his ipso maior solet esse periclo:

quaque timere libet, pertimuisse pudet.

quaque P

quodque G

quaque Ow

libet OPGw

licet Trevirensis, Guelf 4

The above reading gives poor sense: 'where (in circumstances in which) it is our pleasure (or "desire") to fear, we are ashamed to have been greatly afraid.' But *libet* is unsatisfactory. People don't enjoy or desire to fear. Fear is not agreeable. Also *qua* is unsatisfactory, since it does not elsewhere signify 'in circumstances in which.' It is (1) commonly strictly local, as ii. 113 *qua patet Rhodope*. Or (2) it means 'in such a way as,' as A.A. i. 285 *Myrrha patrem, sed non qua filia debet, amavit*. *Met.* ix. 456 *non soror ut fratrem, nec qua debebat, amabat*; Also 'in some way' *Fast.* i. 281 *pace fores obdo, ne qua discedere possit*, ii. 854 *nec metuit, ne qua uersa recurrat hiems*. Or (3) 'in so far as,' 'by such way as' iv. 9 *qua licet*, viii. 110 *quaque licet, fugio sicut ab hoste uiro*, *Rem.* 325 *qua potes, in peius dotes deflecte puellas*.

The variant *licet* in place of *libet* found in two manuscripts is supported by Planudes, who renders ἀλλ' ἂ φοβείσθαι ἐξόν ὑπερφοβείσθαι αἰσχρόν. This is neatly expressed, and is, I think, what Ovid intended. The confusion between *libet* and *licet* is found elsewhere in manuscripts of Ovid. The following examples are collected from the apparatus criticus of Magnus for the *Metamorphoses*, Merkel and Frazer for the *Fasti*, my own for the *Tristia*, Ellis for the *Ibis*, Korn for the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. *Met.* xiii. 766 *libet* v.l. *licet*, *Fast.* iv. 189 *libet* v.l. *licet*, vi. 691 *licet* v.l. *libet*, *Trist.* iii. 3. 85 *libet* v.l. *licet*, iii. 13. 23 *libet* v.l. *licet*, i. 1. 16 *licet* v.l. *libet*, iii. 11. 21 *licet* v.l. *libet*, v. 3. 58 *licet* v.l. *libet*, *Ibis* 30 *licet* v.l. *libet* ex P. i. 7. 65 *licet* v.l. *libet*, ii. 4. 34 *licet* v.l. *libet*, ii. 8. 55 *licet* v.l. *libet*.

Read therefore with O and most manuscripts *quaque* and *licet* with Planudes

quaque timere *licet*, *pertimuisse* pudet,

'in matters where fear is pardonable, excessive fear is shameful.'

xvii. 163

uela quidem Creten uentis dedit ille secundis;
sed tu non ideo cuncta licere puta.

ideo Ow

adeo PG

The reading *ideo*, found in most manuscripts and supported by Planudes ἀλλὰ σὺ γε μὴ διὰ ταῦτα πάντα σοι νόμιζε ἐξεῖναι, is unexceptionable and gives the exact sense required. The word occurs *Met.* i. 515 *nescis quem fugias, ideoque fugis*. The reading *adeo*, printed by Palmer in his text, though he is doubtful about it in his note, was put into the text by Merkel, and is adopted by Sedlmayer and Ehwald. It is supposed to mean 'not quite everything,' but the qualifying 'quite' is absurd. Passages like this show how liable to error not only is the overestimated G but even the chief manuscript P.

iv. 139

*uide*rit amplexus aliquis, laudabimur ambo.

amplexus OGw Planudes

amplexus P 5

The reading *amplexus* adopted by Heinsius is accepted by Ehwald and Palmer. But *amplector* takes accusative of direct object, and is not used absolutely. The passages quoted by Heinsius to support its absolute use are misleading, some being based on false readings. Thus in Val. Flacc. iv. 702 the true reading is *uix primas amplexi luminis oras*: cp. vii. 649 *sociosque amplexus ouantes*. In Silius Italicus xii. 742 *inque uicem amplexi permixta uoce triumphum Tarpeii clamant* *Iouis* the reciprocal in *uicem* i.q. *sese* serves as the direct object, a use of in *uicem* found in Livy ix. 43. 17 in *uicem inter se gratantes*, Pliny *Ep.* vii. 20. 7 *omnia huc spectant, ut in uicem* ('each other') *ardentius diligamus*, Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 17 in

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unblemi
of frail
lusi was
terpolati
See my
xvii.

uicem incessantes, Lucan i. 61 *inque uicem gener omnis amet*. Vitruvius iii. 3. 3 (quoted in the Thesaurus) *matres familiarum non possunt per intercolumnia amplexae adire* is not sufficient authority to establish the absolute use. On the other hand the substantive *amplexus* is frequent in Ovid and other writers.

xi. 45

iam nouiens erat orta soror pulcherrima Phoebi,
denaque luciferos luna mouebat equos.

dena OG ω

nona P

Here Ehwald reads *nonaque* in deference to P, which is clearly wrong. The corruption was no doubt suggested by *nouiens* in l. 45; and shows that P is no infallible guide. The corrector did not observe the tenses: 'Now the moon had risen nine times and for the tenth time was approaching.' *Dena* is confirmed by Virg. *Ec.* 4. 61 *matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses*.

xi. 67

frondibus infantem ramisque albens oliuae
et leuibis uittis sedula celat anus.

frondibus OG ω Planudesfrugibus P ζ

The reading *frugibus*, introduced by Heinsius from P, is adopted by Sedlmayer and Palmer: but those who adopt it are not agreed as to its meaning. Heinsius understood it as sacrificial meal (*mola salsa*), a singularly unsuitable covering for concealing an infant, which when so encased and adorned with olive branches would have resembled a Christmas cake. Van Lennep, Sedlmayer (*Kritischer Commentar*, p. 20) and Palmer take it in the unsupported sense of 'ears of corn,' for which the Latin is *spicae*.

All difficulty disappears if we recognize that P is here corrupt, and read *frondibus*. The infant was concealed under leaves and branches of olive. The mention of leaves joined with branches is naturally frequent, as e.g. Virg. *Geor.* ii. 55 *nunc altae frondes et rami matris opacant*, *Fast.* iv. 737 *frondibus et fixis decorantur ouilia ramis*.

xvii. 15

si non est ficto tristis mihi uultus in ore,
nec sedeo duris torua superciliis,
fama tamen clara est, et adhuc sine crimine uixi,
et laudem de me nullus adulter habet.

uixi OG ω

lusi l. uixi P

lusi ζ Planudes

Palmer's note is hesitating: he reads *uixi* but thinks it by no means certain. Sedlmayer and Ehwald read *lusi*. But *uixi* is preferable. Helen says that though she does not assume hypocritically austere looks, she has lived hitherto with unblemished character. If *lusi* be read, she would practically admit that she was of frail virtue: see *A.A.* ii. 389 *ludite, sed furto celetur culpa modesto*. I think that *lusi* was interpolated from *Trist.* iii. 2. 5 *nec mihi, quod lusi uero sine crimine, prodest*. Interpolations from other parts of the poet's works are frequent in manuscripts of Ovid. See my edition of *Tristia*, *Proleg.* p. lxxvii; Hall, *Companion to Classical Texts*, p. 198.

xviii. 169

digna quidem caelo es, sed adhuc tellure moraris;
aut dic, ad superos et mihi qua sit iter.

caelo es O

caes P

caelo (om. es) G ω moraris OP ζ Planudes (ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γῆς ἐν διατρίβεις)morare GP β ζ

moreris V

In line 169 O above preserves the necessary word *es*, omitted in the other manuscripts, and inserted conjecturally by Merkel.

Editors read, following G, *sed adhuc—morare* 'Thou art surely deserving of heaven, yet abide thou still on earth.' But *adhuc* in classical Latin refers to the present 'up to this time,' and is found only in later writers referring to the future (Pliny *Ep.* ii. 10. 2 Cowan's note). Palmer therefore conjectured *nunc*, which is tame. It is hard to see why so common a word as *nunc* should have been altered to *adhuc*.

Therefore *moraris*, the reading of P, with which O agrees, should be retained. I understand *aut* i.q. '*si aliter fiat*' 'Thou art surely deserving of heaven, but as yet thou dost abide still on earth: or else (if thou dost not do so, but dost ascend to heaven) tell me by what way I also may go to the gods above.'

This idiomatic use of *aut* 'or else,' discussed by Madvig on Cic. *Fin.* iv. 72 cp. Cic. *Att.* ii. 1. 37, is affected by Ovid: see (Palmer) Purser on xx. 53 *aut esses formosa minus*, *Met.* iv. 336 '*desinis? aut fugio tecumque*' ait '*ista relinquo*' 'Will you stop? or else I will flee and leave this spot and you,' vii. 698 *felix dicebar eramque; non ita dis visum est, aut nunc quoque forsitan essem*, *Heroid.* xii. 13 *aut . . . isset* etc., *Trist.* i. 8. 45 *aut mala nostra minus quam nunc aliena putares*, ex P. ii. 7. 77 *nitendum uertice pleno est, aut, flecti nervos si patiere, cades*.

iii. 27

uenerunt ad te Telamone et Amyntore nati,
ille gradu propior sanguinis, ille comes,
Laertaque satus, per quos comitata redirem:
auxerunt blanda grandia dona prece,
uiginti fuluos operoso ex aere lebetas
et tripodas septem pondere et arte pares.

blanda—prece O Naugerius *blandas—preces* PGw *blandae—preces* γ

The reading *blanda—prece* found in O (*blanda || prece||*), accepted by Palmer, gives a satisfactory construction: 'They enhanced with persuasive appeal the costly presents, twenty bronze basins' etc. The short syllable ending *prece* is much affected by Ovid, so *face* ii. 120, *ope* iv. 60 etc., *pede* xi. 102 etc., *ane* *Am.* i. 10. 4, *nine* *Am.* iii. 7. 8 etc., *bonae* *A.A.* i. 324, *nece* *Ibis.* 350. Ehwald strangely retains *blandas—preces*, which leaves the accusatives *lebetas—tripodas* without construction. Sedlmayer reads *blandae—preces*, which is weakly supported.

iv. 125

o utinam nocitura tibi, pulcherrime rerum,
in medio nixu uiscera rupta forent!

nixu O Trevirensis *nisu* POw

The reading *nisu* has been adopted by the editors since Heinsius, but *nixu* is preferable as the word appropriate to the pains of childbirth: Fast v. 171 *maturis nixibus*; Lucret. v. 224 *cum primum in luminis oras nixibus ex aluo matris natura profudit*, Virg. *Geor.* iv. 199 *fetus nixibus edunt*. In *Met.* ix. 300 where *partus* is now read, the early editions and some manuscripts have *nixus*.

iv. 37

iam quoque, uix credes, ignotas mittor in artes:
est mihi per saeuas impetus ire feras.

mittor Oγ *mutor* PGEw

The reading *mittor*, found in O, adopted by Palmer, is preferable to *mutor*, accepted

by Sedlmayer and Ehwald. 'I throw myself vehemently into your pursuits' is a more natural expression for Phaedra addressing Hippolytus than 'I change myself into your pursuits'; for though she might have changed herself into a sportswoman, she could not change herself into sports. 'Mitto' is used of violent hurling Lucan iii. 351 (literally) *pectoribus rapti matrum . . . medios mittentur in ignes*, Hor. *Carm.* i. 16. 24 (metaphorically) *feruor in celeres iambos misit furemtem*.

vi. 99

adde, quod adscribi factis procerumque tuisque,
se uolet et titulo coniugis uxor obest.

uolet OG²Dfauet PG⁵facit E⁵

Heinsius reads *fauet* i.q. *cupit*, but this archaic meaning is impossible in Ovid. Sedlmayer prints *fauet* but marks it as corrupt. Palmer, from his own conjecture, reads *cauet*, which I cannot approve. Ehwald with most editors reads *facit*: but I doubt whether *ascribi facit* can stand for *efficit ut ascribatur*; this latter construction Ovid uses *ex P.* i. 1. 65 *mors faciet certe, ne sim, cum uenerit, exul: ut non peccarim mors quoque non faciet*. As Ovid does say *Met.* v. 675 *uolunt plangi* I think that *uolet*, the reading of O, should be adopted. It was approved by Bentley, and makes good sense.

ix. 53

una, recens crimen, defertur adultera nobis.

defertur Egnatius

refertur O⁵

referentur P

referetur G

The reading of O *refertur* is closer to the true reading *defertur* than are the readings of either P or G. P² has *narratur* (approved by Bentley), which looks like a gloss on *defertur*.

x. 126

cum steteris turbae celsus in ore tuae.

turbae OG^ω

turbes P

urbis P²⁵in ore G⁵

in aure P

in arce P²V⁵honore OG²D⁵ Planudesin orbe Trevirensis man.²

Here the variations are perplexing. Sedlmayer reads *turbae—in orbe*, which is ill supported and obscure. Palmer reads *urbis—in arce*. Though he quotes no parallel for the rare lengthening of *-is* (*steteris*) in the second foot (such lengthening is fairly common in the third foot), he might have quoted *A.A.* i. 447 *si dederis aliquid* to show that this is possible in the second foot. But the manuscript support for this reading is precarious (*turbes* P I regard as a mere miscopying of *turbae*), and there is no particular point in introducing the citadel. The reading of O and many manuscripts and of the early editors *turbae celsus honore tuae* 'erect amid the homage of your thronging people' makes good sense, but does not account for *in*, presented by the best tradition, and looks like an attempt at emendation.

Therefore I think that *turbae celsus in ore*, adopted by Ehwald, is the genuine reading. Then there is a question as to the meaning of *in ore*. In prose this is common in the sense of 'in the presence of,' as Cic. ii. in *Verr.* 2. 81 *quae in ore atque in oculis provinciae gesta sunt*. But this sense is not found in Ovid, who uses *in ore* frequently with the sole meaning of 'on the lips of,' as *Met.* vii. 707 *Procris mihi semper in ore*, *Trist.* iv. 1. 68 *qui populi semper in ore fuit*, *ex P.* ii. 6. 34 *in ore frequens posteritatis eris*. The word *celsus* signifies of tall stature, implying a haughty carriage Cic. *de or.* i. 184 *erectum et celsum* 'with a proud carriage and head erect' (Moor). Hor. *A.P.* 342 *celsi Rhamnes*. The meaning is 'when you shall stand erect amid your people's acclamation.'

xi. 59

et mihi 'uiue, soror, soror o carissima,' dixti.

dixti 5

disti O5

aisti PGw

Sedlmayer Ehwald and Palmer read *aisti*: but Riese, following the older editors, more wisely adopted *dixti*, which is preserved in a corrupted form by O. Here the truth emerges from manuscripts of secondary value: for the form *aisti* is not found in Latin till quite late, chiefly in St. Augustine (see Thesaurus), while *dixti* is well established as the syncopated form. It occurs not only in Plautus and Terence but also in Cicero *Caecin.* 82, *N.D.* iii. 23, Martial iv. 61. 4, and elsewhere. Even Virgil has *direxti*, *Aen.* vi. 57. It is more likely that Ovid used the well-attested form of this perfect than a form which the Latin grammarians, who state that *aio* has no perfect, imply does not exist. The gravely corrupted state of our best manuscripts is indicated here by this intrusion of a late form.

Moreover Ovid's practice favours the reading *dixti* rather than *aisti*. Elision in the dactyl of the fifth foot of the hexameter of the final vowel *a* before *a* following at the beginning of the concluding final three syllables is a harshness which in his elegiac poems is usually avoided by Ovid, who is indeed very sparing of the use of elision. Such elision occurs twice only, *Heroid.* xv. 43 *omnia amantes* (this epistle contains several irregularities) and *A.A.* iii. 351 *spectacula amantur*. Where Ovid does, as he does rarely, admit elision in this position, the vowel elided is usually short *e*. Of this elision the following twenty instances occur: *Heroid.* ix. 137 *crimine amasti*, xv. 19 *crimine amaui*, xvi. 281 *contemnere amorem*, *Am.* i. 10. 13 *corpore amaui*, *A.A.* i. 439 *imitataque amantum*, 525 *hic quoque amantes*, 699 *credere oportet*, iii. 395 *sanguine harenas*, 667 *pectore in hostem*, *Rem.* 23 *ludere oportet*, 193 *deponere in hortis*, 315 *insistere amicae*, *Fast.* ii. 213 *vincere aperte*, 549 *omine ab isto*, vi. 39 *Lucinaque ab illis*, *Trist.* iv. 8. 27 *secedere in hortos*, *ex P.* i. 9. 45 *mittere ab aruis*, iii. 1. 41 *vincere amicos*, 2. 109 *succurrere amico*, 7. 9 *ignoscite amici*. Once only is *um* elided, *Am.* iii. 6. 101 *fluminum amores*. In the face of this evidence it seems improbable that *aisti*, involving a harsh elision, was the word selected by the poet.

xvi. 223

rumpor et inuideo (quidni tamen omnia narrem?)

membra superiecta cum tua ueste fouet.

quidni OV

quidnam (nam in ras.) P

quidne G

quid enim non D5

The reading *quidni*, which was conjectured by Heinsius, is now generally accepted. The variants perhaps indicate obscurity of writing in the archetype. The truth is here found in O.

xvi. 277

non mea sunt summa leuiter districta sagitta

pectora; descendit uulnus ad ossa meum.

hoc mihi (nam recolo fore ut a caeleste sagitta

figar), erat uerax uaticinata soror.

recolo OG²5

repeto Gw

P deficient

The editors read *repeto*, but here I think that *recolo*, preserved by O, is the genuine reading, and should be restored: for Ovid uses *recolo*, in parenthesis 'I recollect', here and v. 113 *hoc tua (nam recolo) quondam germana canebat*: whereas he uses *repeto*, with a direct object 'recall to memory,' not parenthetically: such objects are *quae sunt audita* xx. 193, *Trist.* i. 3. 3 *noctem*, *ex P.* ii. 10. 6 *signa*, *Met.* i. 388 *uerba*, vi. 491 *faciem*, ix. 472 *speciem*.

Palmer is inclined to regard the couplet 279-280 as a late addition because (1) "we have done with Cassandra and her predictions," ver. 122; (2) *sagitta* ends the previous hexameter; (3) the construction of *a* with *sagitta*, though not absolutely forbidden, is rare; (4) the ablative *caeleste*, though legitimate, is rare; (5) *figar* should be *figerer*." These reasons seem to me groundless, for (1) in the case of Ovid, who revels in amplifications and repetitions, it is vain hypercriticism to object to the repetition here; (2) the repetition of the word *sagitta* is characteristic of Ovid's style. He frequently repeats words to secure lucidity: see e.g. *Am.* i. 9. 1, *Fast.* iv. 365, *Trist.* iii. 12. 13 foll. Translated in English the words cause no offence: 'My heart has not been slightly grazed by an arrow's tip: my wound has penetrated to my very bones. With truth did my sister prophesy this to me (for I recollect that I shall be pierced by an arrow sped from heaven)' *caeleste* 'from heaven' Helen being of divine origin; (3) the strengthening of the instrumental ablative by the addition of *a*, so far from being rare, is common in Ovid, and found in other poets: see my note on *Trist.* ii. 28 and P. Hau, *De casuum usu Ovidiano*, p. 118; (4) the ablative form *caeleste* occurs also *Met.* xv. 743: so *riuale Rem.* 791, *perenne Fast.* iii. 654, and probably *cognomine Virg. Aen.* vi. 383; (5) *figar* is in primary sequence depending on *recolo*, as is clear from the correct punctuation of the sentence as printed above. By taking *nam repeto* alone as a parenthesis editors were confronted by the abnormal sequence *uaticinata erat ut figar*, which impelled Heinsius to conjecture *figerer est* for *figar erat*!

xviii. 203

desino: parce queri. sed, uti mare finiat iram,
accedant, quaeso, fac tua vota meis.

desino PG desine OVG²ω uti Palmer ut et PG
ut hoc G²D ζ ut hanc V ζ ut O

Palmer's correction *uti* seems to be certain; it explains the variations in the manuscripts: it is confirmed by the reading of O, which has merely *ut*. This is the first stage in the corruption: for *uti* presumably was written *ut*, next the wanting syllable was made up in various ways (*ut et*, *ut hoc*, *ut hanc*). Planudes supports *uti* (or *ut*): ὡς ἂν δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν στίσῃ τὸ πέλαγος. Ovid uses *ut* and *uti* indifferently: *Met.* x. 20 *non huc, ut opaca uiderem Tartara, descendi, nec uti . . . terna Medusaei uincirem guttura monstri*.

xviii. 3

si mihi di faciles et sunt in amore secundi,
inuitis oculis haec mea uerba leges.

et sunt P tibi sunt GV uel sint O ζ

Palmer, from his own conjecture, reads *si sunt* for *et sunt*, supposing that *si* fell out in the archetype and that its place was filled by conjectures *et*, *tibi*, *uel*. I think it more probable that *tibi* was a gloss written over *et* to provide an antithesis for *mihi*, and that *uel* was a misreading of *et*. Therefore *et sunt* is rightly retained by Sedl-mayer and Ehwald. The construction is *si mihi (sunt) di faciles et sunt* etc., precisely parallel to *A.A.* ii. 177 *si nec blanda satis (erit) nec erit tibi comis amanti*. See some remarks by Löfstedt, *Syntactica* II. 229.

xix. 77

at cito mutata est iactati forma profundī:
tempore, cum properas, saepe minore uenis.

cum PGω quo O Trevirensis

Here O shows serious corruption: *quo* was introduced to provide a relative to agree with *tempore*, regardless of the sense. Leander excuses himself for not having come on the ground that the lull in the stormy weather had been too short to permit

the crossing. Hero replies that it was short enough for him to have come: 'for when you make haste (exert yourself) you often arrive in shorter time than was that lull.' But by reading *quo* the meaning which results is 'in that time in which you hasten you often arrive in less time,' i.e. one arrives quicker in proportion as one uses speed, which is an inappropriate truism.

vii. 71

quid tanti est ut tum 'merui, concedite' dicas?

ut tum Madvig tutum PO tum (suprascr. to) E totum P²G_ω

Madvig's brilliant emendation *ut tum* is an anagram of *tutum*, the reading of P confirmed by O alone of all manuscripts. Other indications of anagram are ix. 20 *turpis*, xvi. 222 *collo* PG_ω, loco O, xx. 164 *ad euentus* G_ω, et *aduentus* O.

ix. 19

quid nisi notitia est misero quaesita pudori,
si cumulus turpis facta priora notat?cumulus P cumulas OP²G_ω turpis Palmer stupri PG_ω
strupi O notat Douza, Palmer nota codd.

Here Palmer's elegant and convincing correction *turpis* is an anagram on *stupri*. It accounts for *cumulus* and gives good sense. He might have quoted in illustration *Met.* xi. 206 *perfidiae cumulum*, xiv. 472 *cumulum cladis*.

xviii. 155

est aliud lumen, multo mihi certius istis,
non errat tenebris quo duce noster amor.errat codex Moreti erat P erat in O erit in P²G_ω

The reading *errat*, approved by Bentley, and rightly accepted by Sedlmayer, Ehwald, Palmer, receives some confirmation from O, which like P has *erat*. In O and the other manuscripts *in* is inserted to save the metre; but *erat* O is less far from the truth than *erit* of the rest, which reveals deeper interpolation. Loers and the older editors read *erit in* with G_ω. A source of the corruption was the somewhat unusual use of the ablative *tenebris* i.q. *nocte*, to indicate time in the course of which, which is often more clearly expressed by the insertion of *in*; 'during the darkness.' But *tenebris* has this meaning here, as it has *Am.* i. 6. 10 *mirabar, tenebris quisquis iturus erat*. Many examples of the temporal ablative without *in* are collected by Hau, *De casuum usu Ovidiano*, p. 108.

xx. 193

audiet haec: repetens, quae sunt audita, requiret,
iste tibi de quo coniuge partus eat.sunt OD₅ sint G₅ iste Dilthey
ipsa G_ω ipse O

Dilthey's correction *iste* ('this travail'), confirmed by Planudes ὁ τοκερὲς οὗτος, is a great improvement on *ipsa*, which after *haec* (both signifying Diana) is not required: the correction is accepted rightly therefore by Sedlmayer, Ehwald and Palmer. It is to some extent supported by the reading of O, which also maintains the correct reading *sunt*: the subjunctive of the indirect question follows after *requiret*, but after *repetens* the relative clause is substantial.

iv. 9

qua licet et sequitur, pudor est miscendus amor:
dicere quae pudit, scribere iussit amor.

The
couplet
practica
Am. i. 9
result is
modesty
the suit
amount
it suspic
I p

'Where
I have
sequitur
189 et m
inmensa

iv.

The ob
convinc

This is
Kritische
the unic
whose v
καὶ μὴν
facts I p

'And to
will be
thus pr
tenuit d
socialis h
I su
est celare

x. 8

So G.
habent.
here. 7

The least improbable explanation which has been proposed of this difficult couplet is arrived at by taking *amor* as the subject of *sequitur*, *amor* being then practically equivalent to *amator*. Then *sequitur* is understood as 'pursues as a suitor,' *Am. i. 9. 10 puellam strenuus exempto fine sequetur amans*. The sense thus supposed to result is 'In so far as love is lawful love and is love where a man is the suitor, modesty must accompany love, but my love being unlawful, and I the woman being the suitor, my love has impelled me to write what modesty forbade to say.' The amount of exegesis involved in this explanation in order to remove obscurity makes it suspicious.

I propose therefore to read

qua licet, et sequitur pudor et miscendus amori <est> :

'Where love is lawful, modesty both accompanies it and should attend it: but I have been impelled by my love to write what modesty forbade to say.' For *sequitur* cp. xii. 136 *comitata, . . . qui me sequitur semper, amore tui*: for *et*—cp. xii. 189 *et nimium similes tibi sunt, et imagine tangor*. *Trist. iv. 3. 25 et ueniunt aestus, et nox immensa uidetur*.

iv. 137

nec labor est. celare licet. pete munus ab illa.
cognato poterit nomine culpa tegi.

licet PGE^ω diu O

The obscure first line has been interpreted in various ways, none of which is convincing. Therefore Palmer boldly cut the knot by emending

nec labor est celare, licet peccemus, amorem.

This is accepted by Sedlmayer in his edition, and supported with arguments, *Kritischer Commentar*, p. 9. But the alteration is too violent. It is remarkable that the unique variant *diu* for *licet* is presented by O; and moreover that Planudes, whose version is usually very close to the original, does not render *licet*. He has καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ πόνος ἐστὶ λανθάνειν. αἴτει παρ' ἐκείνης τὸ δῶρον. On account of these facts I propose to read

nec labor est celare duos. pete munus ab illa.

'And to conceal two persons is no trouble. Ask the favour of Venus, and our sin will be enabled to be concealed under the name of kinship.' The required object is thus provided for *celare*: the word *duo* is used of the 'pair of lovers' inf. 143 *ut tenuit domus una duos, domus una tenebit*. So *Met. vii. 800 mutua cura duos et amor socialis habebat*, viii. 709 *auferet hora duos eadem*.

I suggest that *licet* was an interlinear gloss, written above to elucidate *nec labor est celare*, which was absorbed into the text in place of *duos*.

x. 86

quis scit, an haec saeuas tigridas insula habet?

So G. The variants here are numerous. P has *qui scit an et haec tigrides insula habent*. O has *quis scit an haec saeuas insula tigres habet*. I think that the truth lurks here. The accusative form *tigridas* is not found elsewhere. For Ovid the accusa-

tive is *tigres*, *A.A.* i. 559, ii. 183, *Met.* i. 305, which is the form used by other writers (Georges, *Lexicon d. lat. Wortformen* s.v.). I propose to read

quis scit, an et tigres insula saeua creet?

Cp. Lucret. i. 56 *unde omnis natura creet res auctet alatque*.

xii. 17

semina iecisset totidemque et seminat et (et *erasum*) et hostes.

So P. *semina iecisset totidem quod seminat hostes* G. *semina iecisset totidem sumpsisset et hostes* O.

There are numerous other variants, and numerous emendations of this line. Palmer reads

semina seuisset, totidem quot semina et hostes.

I venture to call attention to the emendation I proposed long ago, *Classical Review*, VI. 261

semina iecisset, totidem, quot seuerat, hostes.

This seems to approach closest to the *ductus litterarum* of PG: cp. line 45 *semina praeterea populos genitura iuberis spargere*.

xiii. 110

cur uenit a uerbis multa querela tuis?

'Why does many a complaint come from your words?' This is queer Latin. If, following Madvig's suggestion, *a* is treated as an interjection it is easier, but the interjection is hardly needed. P reads *querella tens*, whence Palmer elicited his reading *cur uenit a! uerbis multa querella latens?* which is clumsy and inelegant. I suggest by a slight alteration to read

cur uenit in uerbis multa querela tuis?

Cp. *A.A.* ii. 311 *ne pateas uerbis simulator in illis*.

I think that nothing can be built on the corruption of P: *tens* was a mere slip, which is corrected by the second hand to *tuis*.

xv. 7

flendus amor meus est. elegi flebile carmen.

A syllable is wanting. Palmer's emendation *elegiae* is impossible, because Ovid's scansion is always *elegēiā*; the scansion *elegīa* occurs only in later poets. The best attempt to mend the line is that of De Vries

flendus amor meus est elegis: hoc flebile carmen.

Elegi not *Elegeia* is the appropriate word, for Ovid always personifies *Elegeia*, as *Am.* iii. 9. 3, he always employs *elegi* to denote elegiac verse, as *Am.* ii. 1. 21, iii. 15. 2, *Rem.* 395, *ex P.* iii. 4. 85. If moreover it be observed that he has a habit of apostrophizing *elegi*, *Am.* iii. 15, 19

inbelles elegi, genialis Musa, ualete:

Fast. ii. 3

nunc primum uelis, elegi, maioribus itis:

ex P. IV. 5. 1

ite, leues elegi, doctas ad consulis aures;

and that *facere carmen* (*Trist.* v. 3. 57 *dextro faciatis Apolline carmen*) and *carmina* (*A.A.* iii. 533 *carmina qui facimus*) are usual expressions with him, for which the passive is

fit carmen
true corre

'my disti
1. 5 *flebilis*

xx. 1

To a
reads *hoc*
reading of

xiv. 4

O her
The
with the
proposed
The
ποσύντων
(Hubertin
to suppos
ridiculous
from Ovi
dubii . .
iacebant
banquet,
of sleep.
cetera lact
'wine wh
Met. vii.
p. 128.
lacrimis u
the dead.
to, accor
potentia s
flagitii 'a
Flacc. ii.

xiv.

Sinc
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fit carmen (ex P. iii. 4. 59 *properataque carmina fiunt*): it follows, I suggest, that the true correction of this line should be

flendus amor meus est, elegi; fit flebile carmen

'my distichs I must bewail, my love; the verse I compose is tearful.' Cp. *Trist.* v. 1. 5 *flebilis ut noster status est, ita flebile carmen*.

xx. 109

dicendum tamen est: hoc est, mihi crede, quod aegra
ipso nubendi tempore saepe iaces.

To avoid the unpleasing repetition of *est* Ehwald from a Gotha manuscript reads *hoc tu, mihi crede*. Ruhnken, *Dictata*, p. 112, proposed *tamen heu hoc est*. The reading of O is *tamen hec et tu mihi crede*. I think this may conceal the truth. Read

dicendum tamen: hoc est tu, mihi crede, quod aegra.

xiv. 41

ipse iacebas,
quaque tibi dederam, uina soporis erant.
soporis P²G^ω *soporis* POD

O here agrees with P in the insipid reading *soporis*.

The reading *soporis* is I think sound, and should be retained, as it is by Ehwald with the older editors. Palmer, for subtle reasons which seem to me unconvincing, proposed the emendation *plena soporis*, which is adopted by Sedlmayer.

The meaning is correctly given by Planudes καὶ γὰρ ὃν οἶνόν σοι δέδωκα τῶν ποιοῦντων ἦν κάρον, and by the early commentators 'erant uina quae facerent soporem' (Hubertinus), 'erant soporifica aut causa soporis' (Ascensius). It is not necessary to suppose, as some have done, that the wine was drugged. That refinement is ridiculous. Copious draughts of wine were enough to produce sleep. This follows from Ovid's description. The young bridegrooms, the sons of Aegyptus, 'mero dubii . . . in thalamos laeti . . . feruntur . . . iamque cibo uinoque graues somnoque iacebant' (ll. 29-33). Lynceus, whom Hypermetra had plied with wine at the banquet, lay asleep. 'The wine I had given you (says Hypermetra) was the wine of sleep.' The genitive *soporis* is not, as Ehwald took it comparing *A.A.* i. 292 *cetera lactis erant*, genitive of material, but is a bold use of the possessive genitive, 'wine which appertains to, belongs to, sleep,' i.e. is associated with sleep. Cp. *Met.* vii. 646 *dum suspicor has quoque somni esse*. See Hau, *De casuum usu Ovidiano*, p. 128. Such a bold possessive genitive is found in Propertius, iv. 7. 69 *sic mortis lacrimis uitae sanamus amores*, where 'tears of death' means 'tears which are shed by the dead.' So Sophocles *Trach.* 1199 γόνυ δὲ μηδὲν εἰσέρω δάκρυ 'tear that belongs to, accompanies lamentation' (Jebb), Valerius Flaccus iv. 16 (of nectar) *liquidi potentia somni* 'the power of producing tranquil sleep,' Tacitus *Ann.* iii. 20 *obsidionem flagitii* 'a siege which appertained to disgrace.' The meaning is illustrated by Val. Flacc. ii. 221 *inuadunt . . . dapibus uinoque soporos*.

xiv. 85

scilicet ex illo Iunonia permanet ira,
quo bos ex homine est, ex boue facta dea.

Since no other instance is produced of *quo* referring to *tempore* implied in *ex illo* Madvig conjectured *quom* for *quo*. He is followed by Ehwald, who reads *cum*. But ellipsis is so greatly affected in the Latin language to secure compression, and compression was above all things so necessary in the slim elegiac couplet, that it may be supposed that Ovid left to be supplied a word which would at once occur to his readers, who were familiar with expressions such as *Fast.* i. 584 *prope tempus adesce*, *Hercule quo* (not *cum*) *tellus sit satis usa suo*.

xiv. 101

per mare, per terras cognataque flumina curris :
 dat mare, dant amnes, dat tibi terra uiam.
 Quae tibi causa fugae? quid, Io, freta longa pererras
 non poteris uultus effugere ipsa tuos.
 Inachi, quo properas? eadem sequerisque fugisque :
 tu tibi dux comiti, tu comes ipsa duci.

Since the first syllable of *Io*, here short, is elsewhere long, l. 103 has caused offence. L. Müller, *De re metrica*, ed. 2, p. 287, following a suggestion of Egnatius, treats *io* as the interjection, remarking that the name *Io* is not required, since it is given immediately by *Inachi, quo properas*. But the lively interjection *io* (cp. *Am. i. 7. 38*) addressed to the doleful wanderer *Io* is quite inappropriate. Ehwald cuts the knot by reading tamely *quid tu*, Palmer by the improbable emendation *frustra freta*. Housman, *Classical Review* XI. 288, proposed to excise ll. 103 and 106 and to invert the order of 105 and 104, for reasons which are unconvincing. He considers *freta longa pererras* inappropriate words to 'signify to swim the Bosphorus.' They would be, but that is not what they signify. Ovid here reviews the wanderings of *Io* by sea and land. Keeping along the north shore of the Black Sea she came to the 'violent river,' perhaps the Hypanis, then after crossing the Cimmerian and, passing along the coast, the Thracian Bosphorus, and continuing through Europe across the Straits of Gibraltar, she arrived at the 'Aethiopian river,' perhaps the Niger, and finally at the Nile. It is these wanderings by seas and across straits that are indicated by *freta longa pererras*. Regarding these wanderings see Prickard on Aeschylus, *P.V. 705, 726, 790*.

The shortening of the long vowel *i* in *Io* is deliberate. It is an instance of the latitude which Roman poets permitted in dealing with proper names, and sometimes with other words. Where the long vowel stands in the stressed part of the foot, the arsis, the long vowel must be maintained: where it stands in the unstressed part, it can be, if convenient, treated as short, a weakening of quantity due no doubt to the influence of pronunciation. I have treated this subject in the *Classical Quarterly* VIII. 27 foll., in justifying the scansion *Maeotis* in *Trist. iii. 12. 2*, and in the *Journal of Philology* XXXIII. 259, in justifying the scansion of *Mýgale* (μυγάλη) in Juvenal, 5. 141. This practice explains such variations of quantity as *Phylaceia* Ov. *Trist. v. 14. 39* but *Phylacides* A.A. ii. 356; *Fidenam* Virg. *Aen. vi. 773* but *Fidenas* Prop. iv. 1. 36; *Bithymi* Juv. 7. 15 but *Bithyno* Juv. 10. 162; *Venüsina* Juv. 1. 51 but *Venüsina* Juv. 6. 167; *fortuütus* Juv. 13. 225 but *fortuütum* Hor. *Carm. ii. 15. 17*. In Statius *Silv. i. 3. 95* *Plüädumque ninosum sidus*, the reading of all manuscripts, is rightly retained by Vollmer, where most editors adopt *Hyadum*, the emendation of Heinsius. In conformity with this principle *me fabulosae Volture in Äpulo nutricis extra limen Äpuliae* may be retained in Hor. *Carm. iii. 4. 9*, for, in the words of Dr. Glover, "I would rather have him play with the pronunciation of *Apulia*, than name the *Polly* of the nursery or the editor," *Horace, A Return to Allegiance*, p. 26. Rules are constructed by grammarians and critics; but it is a mistake to infer from them rigid uniformity of practice. Exceptions must be expected, which may be justified. A timely warning against slavish subservience to rules has been given lately by F. Gaffiot in *L'Antiquité classique*, 1934, p. 293.

xvii. 257

his ego, si saperem pauloque audacior essem,
 uterer; utetur, siqua puella sapit.
 aut ego deposito faciam fortasse pudore,
 et dabo cunctatas tempore uicta manus.

faciam P²GVO^ω Planudessapiam 'Regius cum uno Farnesiano' Heinsius
sautiam P

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Sedlmayer, Ehwald and Palmer read *sapiam*, which was approved by Bentley, catching up *saperem* l. 257. But I think that *faciam*, which was adopted by Merkel and the older editors, is preferable. It idiomatically repeats the idea of *saperem* by a different word: 'or perhaps discarding modesty I shall do so'; just as Virg. *Ec.* 2. 43 *iam pridem a me illos abducere Thestylis orat; et faciet*, where *faciet* is i.q. *abducat*, *Aen.* i. 57 *Aeolus . . . mollitque animos et temperat iras; ni faciat*, where *ni faciat* is i.q. *ni molliat et temperet*, Ovid *Her.* xv. 87 *hunc ne pro Cephala raperes, Aurora, timebam; et faceres*, *Met.* vii. 144 *tu quoque uictorem complecti, barbara, uelles; sed te, ne faceres, tenuit reuerentia famae*, Tibull. i. 8. 21 *cantus et e curru Lunam deducere temptat; et faceret si non aera repulsa sonent*. Probably *sapiam* was a gloss written above *faciam*.

S. G. OWEN.

CORRIGENDA

In the previous article (July 1936) two misprints require correction: page 156 (8 lines from the bottom) for *equis* read *equis*; page 165 (11 lines from the bottom) for *acquora* read *aequora*.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FIRST BOOK OF LUCAN
BY MR. R. J. GETTY (C.Q., APRIL, 1936).

A REPLY.

13-18

heu, quantum terrae potuit pelagique parari
hoc quem civiles hauserunt sanguine dextrae,
unde venit Titan et nox ubi sidera condit
quaque dies medius flagrantibus aestuat horis
et qua bruma rigens ac nescia vere remitti
astringit Scythico glaciale frigore pontum!

(1) I do not agree with Mr. Getty that Mr. J. D. Duff is wrong in his translation of *nox ubi sidera condit* as 'where night hides the stars'

(2) I do not accept Mr. Getty's translation of *sidera* as meaning *sol*, and I think that in most of the passages quoted by him in support of his rendering the ordinary meaning of the word is essential.

Night flies westwards before the sun in the morning: the sun flies westwards before night in the evening. Each possesses a hemisphere of the celestial sphere, and night can never *hide the sun* except in an eclipse. But the stars, *per vacuum solitae noctis decurrere tempus* (l. 535 *infra*), belong to night. At sunrise they may be said to set in the West: *ignes | solis Lucifero fugiebant astra relicto, | iamque dies . . . exoritur* (ll. 231-2 *infra*): at sunset they may be said to rise in the East. Therefore to a Roman poet, whose knowledge of astronomy is more popular than scientific, it comes natural to say 'where night hides the stars' as a poetical circumlocution for the West in strong antithesis to 'unde venit Titan' meaning the East. Lucan is here simply describing what happens, or appears to happen, every morning. In another passage (4. 282, *substituit merso . . . nox sua lumina Phoebō*) he states what happens every evening: the sun goes down in the West and night replaces him with her stars. The full process is well expressed in the 36th poem of A. E. Housman's 'Last Poems'—beginning,

West and away the wheels of darkness roll,
Day's beamy banner up the east is borne.

This view holds good in most of the examples quoted by Mr. Getty:

(a) Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* 3. 730-1,

ilicet extremi nox litore solis Hiberas
condidit alta domos et sidera sustulit axis.

I do not know what meaning Mr. Getty assigns to these lines: but I read them thus. Night has followed the westering sun across our hemisphere until Spain is reached. At the same time the revolving sphere of heaven hoists the stars of night into the sky from below the Eastern horizon—so that darkness and starlight prevail over the whole of our hemisphere. This is borne out by what follows. At 4. 82-3 the poet says (to describe midnight): *iam Minyae mediis clarae per sidera noctis | fluc-*

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tibus intulerant placido cava lintea cursu. Then, to describe the end of night and the coming of the next morning, at 4. 90 sqq. he says: *interea magni iam iam subeuntibus astris | Oceani genitale caput, Titania frenis | antra sonant: sol auricomis cingentibus Horis | . . . super terras et eoi cornua montes | emicuit traxitque diem candentibus undis.*

(b) Stat. Theb. 7. 45-6,

laeditur adversum Phoebi iubar, ipsaque sedem
lux timet, et durus contristat sidera fulgor.

Sidera here has its normal meaning. The poet is describing the shrine of Mars in frozen Thrace. It lies in the North and is therefore opposite to the midday sun. Its repulsive sheen of iron (ll. 43-4) is such as to spoil the direct light of the sun: indeed light itself shrinks from approaching the shrine; and by night the metallic glare of it (*durus fulgor*) takes all the joyful sparkle out of the starlight (*contristat sidera*).

(c) V.F. 6. 441-2,

illius adfatus sparsosque per avia sucos
sidera fixa pavent et avi stupet orbita solis.

Here I think that by *sidera* the poet means the stars other than the planets, and more particularly the twelve signs of the Zodiac through which (to a terrestrial observer) the *orbita solis* appears to run.

(d) Manil. 3. 18-19,

natorum epulas conversaue sidera retro
ereptumque diem.

This is a reference to the banquet of Thyestes. Mr. Getty says that '*sidera* is here used absolutely of the sun.' On the contrary, the word to make sense must have its ordinary meaning.

Manilius is not an amateur astronomer like Lucan: he knows the motions of the heavens. Therefore when he says *conversaue sidera retro*, he means that the *stellifer orbis* (the outermost of the celestial spheres, which revolves once every 24 hours from East to West, carrying round with it the fixed stars and—however reluctantly—the planets in their *diurnal* motion) suddenly in horror reversed its motion—with the result that daylight was carried down beneath the Eastern horizon. *Sidera conversa* in this context, if applied to the sun, would be nonsense: for the sun's *proper* motion is from *West* to *East*, and in that direction he makes a circuit of the Zodiac once a year. The motion which carries him round *diurnally* from East to West every 24 hours is not his motion but that of the *stellifer orbis*. If on the morning of Thyestes' banquet the *stellifer orbis* turned back, it would be going eastwards with the sun, and between them the sun would soon be under the eastern horizon. If, on the other hand, the sun turned back it would be going westwards with the sky and would not disappear till its normal time in the evening. Lucan has some such idea in mind at 7. 2-3, where he says that on the morning of Pharsalia '*Luctificus Titan nunquam magis aethera contra | egit equos*,' i.e. the sun, not wanting to rise on such an inauspicious day, galloped his horses for all their worth against the motion of the *stellifer orbis* which was dragging him up.

The same meaning holds good for Stat. *Silv.* 5. 3. 96-7, *aversaque caelo sidera* (on the meaning of *aversus* see Housman's note on Manil. 3. 679).

72-7.

sic, cum compage soluta
 saecula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora
 antiquum repetens iterum chaos, omnia mixtis
 sidera sideribus concurrent, ignea pontum
 astra petent, tellus extendere sidera nolet
 excutietque fretum.

Bentley, Housman, and Professor Eduard Fraenkel delete *omnia mixtis sidera sideribus concurrent*: the logical reasons for the rejection are well expressed by Housman in his note ad loc. Mr. Getty, however, says 'The meaning of *mixtis sideribus* is made clear by Manil. 4. 386, *mixta sed in pluris sociantur sidera vires* and 414-15 *namque omnia mixtis | viribus et vario consurgunt sidera textu*, where the similarity of the language to that of Lucan must be observed. The expression may be paraphrased fully in the words "with power augmented from their clash."'.

I feel that Mr. Getty has been misled by the purely verbal similarity between the passages: there is not the least similarity of meaning.

In 4. 386 Manilius is discussing the circle of the Zodiac as used by the astrologer: it is divided into twelve parts, each occupied by a sign of the Zodiac; but that is not all—he goes on to speak of *partes in partibus ipsis*: each of the twelve divisions is subdivided into three parts (called *decani*), and over each of these three parts a sign of the Zodiac presides (e.g. Aries is divided into three *decani*, presided over by Aries, Taurus, and Gemini respectively). Now, in casting a horoscope, the effect of this is that the signs sharing the *decani* are blended with the influence of the main sign in shaping the character and destiny of the person concerned. Hence the sentence, *mixta in pluris sociantur sidera vires*. This piece of purely astrological technique can have no bearing on Lucan's description of the ἐκπύρωσις.

Then in 4. 414-15 Manilius means this: The Zodiac is a circle of 360 degrees: in each of the 12 signs there are 30 degrees: each of these degrees has a character of its own which, in casting a horoscope, must not be ignored: this character is one of excessive heat or cold, of drought or moisture. '*namque omnia mixtis viribus et vario consurgunt sidera textu*,' says Manilius: 'for the signs of the Zodiac rise, each endowed with a mixture of power, each formed of a checked pattern.' Again this is a piece of astrological fiction which can have no possible relation to the passage of Lucan. Both passages from Manilius refer to devices which belong only to the pseudo-scientific art of the astrologer, and neither has any bearing on astronomy.

Mr. Getty then proceeds: 'Lucan is now seen to mean that, when the ἐκπύρωσις comes, all the heavenly bodies will meet (the italics are mine) and mingle their violence in flames. The whole idea is well illustrated by Sen. N.Q. 3. 29. 1, (*Berosus*) *arsura enim terrena contendit, quandoque omnia sidera, quae nunc diversos agunt cursus, in Cancrum convenerint, . . . inundationem futuram cum eadem siderum turba in Capricornum convenerint*.' But in this passage of Seneca *omnia sidera* refers not to 'all the heavenly bodies,' but to the planets alone. What Seneca means is this: *omnia sidera quae nunc diversos agunt cursus* are the seven planets (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon) which in concentric orbits revolve laterally between the celestial sphere and the earth. Their orbits are all in one plane, and therefore (to a terrestrial observer) all seven planets will appear to trace out the same path against the background of fixed stars. This path is known as the Zodiac, a narrow belt of sky set obliquely to the celestial equator and divided into twelve convenient groups of stars. Of course, the planets take longer or shorter times to complete their orbits (*diversos agunt cursus*) in accordance as they are near to or distant from the central earth. Saturn takes 30 years, Jupiter 12, the Sun 1, the Moon a month. But at rare intervals, by the law of highest common multiple, the planets will all be in the same sign of the Zodiac. Some day they will all be together in Cancer: then, says Berosus, there will be an ἐκπύρωσις on earth; or if they all stand in Capricorn, we

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may expect an *inundatio* on earth. Cancer and Capricorn are arbitrarily chosen for these tests by fire and water, as being the signs of the summer and winter solstice respectively when (in the north temperate zone) we expect most heat and most rain. In this passage it is *only for the earth* that trouble is presaged; the mention of the planets and the zodiacal signs is made only to fix the time when that trouble may be expected. The passage has no bearing on Lucan 1. 73-4.

As to *pontum astra petent*, Mr. Getty says: 'The meaning . . . is simply that celestial bodies, especially the sun, will set and leave the world in darkness.' But surely this refers to that chaos which is a commonplace in ancient literature. If chaos is to reassert itself, it is necessary that the elements should return to their original confusion—one feature of which is that fire and water were mingled. Therefore I keep *igneae* with *astra* and continue to translate the sentence in the obvious way.

313. Marcellusque loquax et nomina vana Catones.

There has always been difficulty in deciding to which of three possible *Marcelli* Lucan is referring. Mr. Getty believes that he is referring to all three. 'In *Catones* we have the not uncommon use of the plural for the singular, and in *Marcellus loquax* I believe that the reverse is the case and that Lucan is thinking of all three, if not at least of (i) C. Claudius Marcellus, consul of 50 B.C., and (ii) C. Claudius Marcellus, consul in 49 and cousin of (i).'

In support of this statement he quotes the use of the singular *Haedus* to denote the constellation of the three *Haedi*. But where is the parallelism between *Haedus* and *Marcellus*? He quotes the use of the singular to denote a tribe? But how can this apply to Marcellus?

He then says: 'I am convinced that the singular of *Decius* is used for the plural at Prop. 4. 1. 45, *tunc animi venere Deci Brutique secures* and Lucan 2. 308, *devotum hostiles Decium pressere catervae*.' But what of Hor. *Sat.* 1. 6. 20, *Decio novo*? That can only refer to one Decius, the first: why should not the other passage have the same reference?

Besides, the use of the epithet *loquax* seems surely to suggest that Lucan had one definite Marcellus in view. Was Petronius thinking of all three *Marcelli* when he wrote (*Spec. Belli Civil.* 284-5), *tu legem, Marcelle, tene: tu concute plebem, | Curio: tu fortem ne supprime, Lentule, Martem*?

399-401 hi vada liquerunt Isarae, qui, gurgite ductus
per tam multa suo, famae maioris in amnem
lapsus ad aequoreas nomen non pertulit undas.

Mr. Getty is concerned to prove that when Lucan said the *Isère* he meant the *Saône*. This is how he goes about it. He first alleges the general inaccuracy of our poet's geographical knowledge. Then he volunteers the purely subjective statement that the above description is of a 'gently-flowing' river: but all the world knows that the *Isère* is 'not a river with a smooth current': therefore we must look about for the other river which Lucan in his ignorance miscalled *Isara*. We find it in the *Saône*: and we further find Silius Italicus (by implication) correcting Lucan's geography.

This ingenious reasoning will not bear examination. The words used in Lucan's description are all neutral with the exception of *gurgite*, which (though in the poets it is often neutral) primarily means a torrent. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 296, *turbidus hic caeno vastaue voragine gurgis | aestuat*. The word *ductus* merely denotes the 'line' of the river; there is nothing in the participle, thus used, to suggest the easy gradient of an aqueduct (say); taken with *per tam multa (vada)* it indicates the *length* of the river. When Mr. Getty says that *ductus* = *deductus* I cannot follow him. How can a river be escorted by its own waters? The passage of Claudian (*Panegyricus Man. Theod.*

235-6) which he quotes in support of this view is beside the point. Claudian wishes to say that the Ganges is a noble, brimming, evenly-flowing river as befits a great stream—it is like the Nile or Danube: 'the same doceness of well-controlled waters attends the Ganges to its estuary.' And he goes on to say: *torrentes immane fremant . . . pax maiora decet*. There is no similarity between Lucan's *Isara gurgite ductus suo* and Claudian's *clementia . . . deducit in ostia Gangen*.

In further support of his thesis Mr. Getty gives a special sense to *lapsus*, quoting Page's note on *Aen.* 4. 524, 'the word suggests motion which is smooth and steady'—where, however, the word describes the gliding of the stars across the nightly sky. But what of Lucan 1. 475, *qua Nar Tiberino illabitur amni*? Is the Nar a river 'whose motion is smooth and steady'? What then of Ovid, *Metam.* 14. 330, *Nar . . . praeceps*? In point of fact, when Lucan says *famae maioris in amnem lapsus*, by the participle he means no more and no less than Ausonius (*Mosella* 351) means by the verb: *innumeri . . . te diversa per ostia late | incurrunt amnes*; or in l. 355 of the same poem, *Sura tuas properat . . . ire sub undas*.

479-80

maiorque ferusque

mentibus occurrit victoque immanior hoste.

Again Mr. Getty stresses purely verbal parallels. He is influenced by Virg. *Aen.* 1. 347, *Pygmalion scelere ante alios immanior omnes* and by V.F. 2. 614-15, *abruptis Europa immanior oris* into maintaining that in the above passage *victo immanior hoste* must contain an ablative of cause and be translated (with Haskins) 'more terrible from the conquest of the foe.'

But the whole point surely is that Caesar never before was *immanis* to them. Now panic and war-terror have so changed their minds and so excited their imagination that he appears 'more savage than the conquered Gauls'—i.e. more ruthless than the *barbaricae saevi Caesaris alae* (l. 476) then operating in their territory or than the *ferae gentes* (l. 483) who have been ordered, it is rumoured, to sack Rome.

502-3

nondum sparsa compage carinae
naufragium sibi quisque facit.

Mr. Getty begins by establishing the inviolability of the reading *immensum* in l. 499. 'That *immensum* is right . . . must be clear to the reader of Virg. *Aen.* 1. 102-117, etc.' Perhaps. In a text of Lucan I would not venture to change the word: but I cannot help feeling that Bentley's suggestion *inversum* is a vast improvement. Auster, the South wind, sweeping towards the North, will expose the Syrtes by blowing the sea away from them: the sea is simply pushed and rolled back from the shallows. Does *immensum* add anything vital and forceful to this description? But Bentley's *inversum* admirably describes what happens. That is why Housman in his note says 'multo significantius Bentleius *inversum*.'

Mr. Getty then ventures a new explanation of *naufragium sibi quisque facit*. He takes it literally. The sailors, who do not immediately jump into the water, begin to smash up the ship in order to provide themselves with spars to sail away on.

But consider the context. Mr. Getty has omitted to say that this description of a panic on a storm-tossed ship is a simile: it is meant to help us in understanding the scene of confusion in Rome at the news of Caesar's approach. Rumour is busy; exaggerated reports are rife; men fear not realities but the bogeys of their imagination (ll. 484-6). There is no distinction between the classes; senate and plebs alike are in the stream of refugees pouring from the city and seeking at random a place of safety (ll. 486-93). You would think that the city was on fire or that an earthquake had occurred: with such mad haste do they rush to abandon their homes and their walls: *turba . . . inconsulta ruit* (ll. 493-8). It is all caused by rumour and panic: actually the city is intact and undamaged (cf. ll. 519-20).

This scene Lucan illustrates by a well-constructed simile. The citizens of Rome are compared to the crew of a ship in a storm; the sailors take fright at the fall of a mast; and once terrified they imagine the worst; captain and sailor alike, they jump overboard and (*nondum sparsa compage carinae*) before the hull has suffered any damage they abandon ship. The parallel is exact.

The phrase *naufragium sibi quisque facit* means 'each man makes a shipwreck of it': 'as far as he is concerned, each man regards the ship as lost': 'deliberately becomes a castaway.' In other words, *quisque inconsultus ruit*.

Into this exact simile Mr. Getty imports the alien and incongruous image of the sailors breaking up the ship in order to get spars on which to swim away. And what is its relation to the panic in Rome? When I think of the crowd as Lucan describes it—*turba per urbem | praecipiti lymphata gradu, velut unica rebus | spes foret adfluctis patrios excedere muros, | inconsulta ruit*—I cannot fit into the picture Mr. Getty's addition.

552-3

tum cardine tellus

subsedet, veteremque iugis nutantibus Alpes
discussere nivem.

It is perhaps possible to add a little to Mr. Getty's interpretation of this passage. He is right in criticizing Heitland's view that *cardo* here has the sense of axis, i.e. the axis of the celestial sphere which runs down from the Pole Star, through the North and South poles of the Earth, to the point diametrically opposite at the South end of the celestial sphere. I agree with Mr. Getty when he argues that *cardo* means the topmost or the lowest point of the celestial axis, i.e. the two celestial poles.

At the mid-centre of the celestial sphere is the earth. It is centripetal force and the downward pressure of the atmosphere which keep the earth thus at the centre of the universe and which keep it rightly gripping the middle of the celestial axis. Lucan seems to imagine this centripetal force as momentarily relaxed—with the result that the earth slips down the axis so as to be no longer in a position equidistant from the celestial poles. The jerk of such a movement, he says, caused earthquakes and avalanches in the Alps and tidal waves in the Atlantic. Cf. Macrobius, *Comment. in Somn. Scip.* I. 22. 7, *terram spissus aer . . . undiqueversum fulcit et continet, nec in recessum aut accessum moveri eam patitur vel vis circumvallantis et ex omni parte vigore simili librantis aurae vel ipsa sphaeralis extremitas. quae si paululum a medio deviaverit, fit cuicumque vertici propior et imum (=the centre) relinquit, quod ideo in solo medio est quia ipsa sola pars a quovis sphaerae vertice pari spatio recedit.*

W. H. SEMPLE.

UNIVERSITY OF READING.

ARISTOPHANES, *BIRDS*, 995-1009.

I.

AMONGST the people who pester Peisthetaerus (or Peithetaerus or whatever his name is) with unwanted help and advice in the latter part of the *Birds* is Meton, famous astronomer and mathematician, who produces and demonstrates with instruments a method of laying out the plan of the new town. Peisthetaerus makes no attempt to follow him and quickly bundles him out again without much ceremony. Commentators and readers with few exceptions treat him in a similar way. 'Ἐπίτηδες ἀδιανόητα, διόλον ἀνοηταίνει, παίζει—such are the comments of the scholiast, and editors are mostly content with that. Van Leeuwen (on 1002-1005) says, 'Metonis haec verba intellegere velle, id est operam dare ut suo ioco frustretur comicus.' The passage is of course highly comical; to make it didactic and attribute to Aristophanes a serious excursion into geometry and town-planning would be perverse and pedantic; but in Aristophanes more than in most comic writers there is commonly a grain or two of truth among the chaff. These grains, though of little or no importance for the appreciation of the play as comedy, may still have some possible value in other ways, and should be carefully sifted.

Two main questions arise—What does Meton mean and what precisely does he do? Secondly, what if any is the relation of all this to actual town-planning? In attempting to answer the first question I am encouraged by a belief that Meton must have been made to draw with his instruments and produce a tangible geometrical figure, which it should be possible to reconstruct. I propose first to reconsider and comment on the passage line by line, elucidating Meton's geometry as far as possible and touching on several other matters including one textual point; and then to face the second question asked above. The editions chiefly quoted are Blaydes, Oxford 1840 and Halle 1882; Kock, Berlin 1876; Merry, Oxford 1889; van Leeuwen, Leyden 1902; Rogers, London 1906; Schroeder, Berlin 1927; and for the scholia J. W. White, *Scholia on the Aves*, Boston and London 1914. Another work repeatedly used is M. Erdmann's article on 'Hippodamos von Milet und die symmetrische städtebaukunst der Griechen,' in *Philologus*, XLII, 1884, pp. 193 ff.; this contains the one determined attempt of which I know to read serious sense into the passage. First of all however it might be helpful to give a text with relevant critical notes.

II.

- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| ME. | γεωμετρήσαι βούλομαι τὸν αέρα ὑμῖν διελεῖν τε κατ' ἀγνιάς. ΠΕΙ. πρὸς τῶν θεῶν σὺ δ' εἰ τίς ἀνδρῶν; ME. ὅστις εἰμ' ἐγώ; Μέτων, ὃν οἶδεν Ἑλλὰς χὼ Κολωνός. ΠΕΙ. εἰπέ μοι, ταντὶ δέ σοι τί ἔστι; ME. κανόνες αἱρέος. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἀήρ ἔστι τὴν ιδέαν ὅλος κατὰ πινγέα μάλιστα. προσθεῖς οὖν ἐγώ τὸν κανόν' ἀνωθεν τουτονὶ τὸν καμπύλον, ἐνθεὶς διαβιήτην—μανθάνεις; ΠΕΙ. οὐ μανθάνω. | 995 |
| | | 1000 |
| ME. | ὀρθῶ μετρήσω κανόνι προστιθείς, ἵνα ὁ κύκλος γένηται σοι τετράγωνος, κὰν μέσῳ ἀγορά, φέρουσιν δ' ὥσιν εἰς αὐτὴν ὁδοί ὀρθαὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ μέσον, ὥσπερ δ' ἀστέρως, | 1005 |

αὐτοῦ κυκλοτεροῦς ὄντος, ὁρθαὶ πανταχῇ
ἀκτίνες ἀπολάμπουσιν. ΠΕΙ. ἄνθρωπος θαλῆς.

996. κατ' ἀγνίᾱς MSS. κατὰ γνῆας Dawes, followed by Brunck and all later editors. The possibility of a return to κατ' ἀγνίᾱς is discussed below.
1002. Comma after κανόν' instead of after καμπύλον Kock, Blaydes (Merry appears to approve of this in commentary but does not print it in text). Blaydes also reads ἀνὼ δὲ for ἀνωθεν.
1004. ὁρθῶς some MSS.
1007. δ' omitted, with ἀπολάμπουσι for MSS. ἀπολάμπωσι in 1009 Brunck, Merry. ἀστéρες most MSS. and early editions.

III.

995. γεωμετρήσαι 'land-measure' is paradoxical as applied to ἀήρ; but the nonsensical element of the passage is confined I think to this application of 'geometrical' procedure to the air. The 'geometry' is in itself intelligible. At first sight what Meton says he is going to do and what he actually does may appear to be different things. He apparently says he intends to 'land-survey' the air, but in fact he draws a town-plan with geometrical instruments. The inconsistency is reduced by the fact that γεωμετρία has two meanings; firstly, its literal practical sense of 'measuring the land' as a surveyor does. This practical 'geometry' was developed in Egypt and imported into Greece, according to Herodotus (II. 109). In Greece, when theoretical geometry on paper developed, the same word was used in this second sense too. In line 995 the first sense suggests itself, but after Meton's construction of a geometrical figure we can perhaps look back and read into γεωμετρήσαι a suggestion of the meaning 'to apply geometrical methods to.'

Meton, a famous mathematician, astronomer and engineer, is here introduced in the rôle of town-planner, a little inappropriately, as far as our knowledge of his activities goes; but such misrepresentation would be thoroughly Aristophanic. No doubt in appearance and manner or in familiarity to the audience Meton provided better material than the real town-planners. Yet Hippodamus of Miletus, most famous of these, would have been himself an excellent figure of fun, if there is any truth in the little personal sketch, in the manner of Theophrastus, with which Aristotle prefaces his criticism of Hippodamian political theories (*Politics*, II. 5(8) 1267a). Hippodamus' elaborate hair, rich dress and extravagant behaviour must have seemed to Aristophanes richly deserving of ridicule; but Hippodamus' career was finished long before the production of the *Birds* (414 B.C.), according to von Gerkan's revised dating (*Griechische Städteanlagen*, pp. 43-46). Even if his career extended to the last years of the fifth century, it is not likely that he returned to Athens after the foundation of Thurii (443); the Dorian element gained the upper hand at Thurii, and if the association of the name of Hippodamus with the replanning of Rhodes (408) is correct, this provides further indication of the breach of his connection with Athens. Meton on the other hand was very much in the public eye. His work on a fountain at Colonus, whatever it was, alluded to in line 998, according to the Scholiast called forth comment in a play produced by Phrynichus at the same time as the *Birds*. Hence the appearance of Meton.

996. διελεῖν. The same word is used by Hesychius (*Ἱπποδάμων νέμησης*) of Hippodamus' planning of Peiraeus. Aristotle too in the passage quoted above speaks of Ἱπποδάμος . . . ὃς καὶ τὴν τῶν πόλεων διαίρεσιν εἶρε, καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέτεμε (cf. *εὐτομος*, *Politics*, VII. 10, 1330b). Not that I would take this as an indication that Meton's scheme is to be associated with the principles of Hippodamus. I would merely point out that this emphasis in references to town-planning on dividing and cutting up, which would be effected by means of streets—and in particular the use of

διελεῖν—suits the suggestion I make below of a return to the MSS. reading in this line; it might at first be thought that κατὰ γύας fits διελεῖν better.

κατ' ἀγνιάς. For more than a century and a half editors have accepted Dawes' suggestion of κατὰ γύας as a matter of course. Blaydes alone hesitated, but finally said 'in κατὰ γύας acquiescendum censeo.' The second syllable of ἀγνιάς is normally long, as in line 1233, and we cannot have a spondee in the fourth foot; but may not the syllable be shortened here on the principle given by J. W. White in § 801 of *The Verse of Greek Comedy*? This says, 'A diphthong or long vowel within a word may be shortened before a following vowel or diphthong in the same word. The syllable thus shortened is the arsis of the iamb or trochee,' etc. White gives several examples of the shortening of αἰ (one which he does not give occurs immediately before our passage, in line 990), several of οἰ, one of η and others. May not the absence of cases of υἱ be accidental? If so I suggest that the κατ' ἀγνιάς of the MSS. is correct.

The MSS. reading certainly fits the sense of the passage better. From the first it has been a question of building a city. The whole air is to be surrounded by a wall in a circle (550). This work is well advanced by the time Meton arrives, and he suggests a method of laying out the area enclosed, the basis of his scheme being provided by a series of streets radiating from an agora in the centre. 'To divide according to streets' is more appropriate than 'to divide according to plots.' The word γύης has an agricultural flavour, meaning firstly the body of the plough, to which pole and handle were attached (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 427 ff.; when all three members were made of one piece of wood the plough was called αὐτόγυον, 433; cf. Apollonius Rhodius, III. 232), and secondly a measure of land. Whether in this second sense there is a feminine form γύη matters little. The word in this sense is unquestionably masculine in Sophocles, fragment of *Phoenix*, 601, ed. Jebb 718, and in Euripides, *Heracleidae*, 839. Some editors whittle away by emendation such little evidence as there is for the feminine form. In almost all occurrences of the word by reason of number and case the gender is indeterminate, and for the consideration of meaning all may be grouped together. γύης, then, as a measure of land is still an agricultural word. It occurs repeatedly as the object of σπείρω, as in Euripides, *Heracleidae*, 839, and *Electra*, 79; and the adjectives attached to it cover the whole range of agricultural operations—ἀρώσιμοι (Sophocles, *Antigone*, 569), ἀνηρότους (Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 708), βαθυσπόρους (Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 648), εὐκάρπους (Euripides, *Andromache*, 1045), and others. I must conscientiously disclose a small flaw—Hesychius, besides giving the above meanings and ἀστραγάλων σύνθεσις for γύης, has an item γύαι· ὁδοί. Where he gets this from is uncertain. His editors Alberti and Schmidt suggest a confusion with ἀγνιάς. In any case, according to its numerous occurrences in literature, the essential meanings of the word are as given above. The note in Hesychius, and a reluctance to be pedantic and attribute an unnatural degree of precision and consistency to Aristophanes, would discourage me from tampering with κατὰ γύας if it were in the MSS.; but since κατ' ἀγνιάς is the MSS. reading, I think it should be retained if possible.

1001. κατὰ πνιγέα 'after the manner of a πνιγείς,' a contrivance in form like an upturned bowl. For this sense of κατὰ cf. *Birds*, 919, κατὰ τὰ Σιμωνίδου; *Clouds*, 534, 'Ἡλέκτραν κατ' ἐκείνην; Herodotus, IV. 23, κατὰ σκέην μάλιστα; in addition to examples in Liddell and Scott, κατὰ, B. IV. 3. The name πνιγείς, generally translated for convenience 'extinguisher,' is applied to a variety of things—a cover placed or constructed over a fire (*Clouds*, 96), for what purpose it is not clear, possibly to extinguish the fire, possibly in the process of charcoal burning; an oven or a stove (Scholiast on *Birds*, 1001, πνιγείς δὲ ὁ κρίβανος ἢ ἡ κάμνος); and a type of hydraulic vessel such as that described by Hero in Πνευματικά, I. 42. In this last (Fig. 1) air is blown through the opening A while the tube B is stopped; then A is stopped and B released, and the compressed air forces water to spout up through the tube.

The comparison of the air with a *πνιγέυς* over the earth is natural. Aristophanes refers to it also in *Clouds*, 95 ff., where the idea is the same although the word *οὐρανός* is used instead of *ἀήρ*, and the metaphor is developed by comparing men to *ἀνθρακες*. The Scholiast on that passage attributes the invention of the metaphor to the Pythagorean Hippon, saying that Cratinus had poked fun at him for it. The idea possibly goes back further still. Professor T. B. L. Webster suggested to me that the metaphor should be compared with certain theories of Anaximander, and on investigation I think that there is something Anaximandrian in it. The philosopher said that the heavenly bodies were *πυλόμενα ἀέρος τροχοειδῆ, πυρὸς ἔμπλεα, κατὰ τι μέρος ἀπὸ στομίων ἐκπνέοντα φλόγας* (Aëtius, II. 13. 7)—apart from the general suggestion of some sort of *πνιγέυς*, the last words recall the chimney or spout which the instrument in some forms would have. In the *ἀήρ-πνιγέυς* idea there may be a reminiscence, though several degrees removed, of Anaximander.

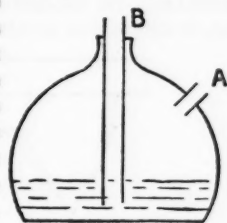


FIG. 1.

It is not necessary, however, to probe deeply into the meaning of *πνιγέυς* or the point of the metaphor in order to follow Meton's exposition. He has announced his intention and before going on to demonstrate indicates by means of this metaphor how his scheme can be applied to the air—the air is a great convex shape like a flattish rounded hill. Possibly he illustrates his words merely by a vague gesture; but it is conceivable that along with his other instruments he brought a sort of hemisphere with a flattened top—a small-scale model on which to draw his small-scale plan—and that setting it down as he said *κατὰ πνιγέα* at the words *προσθεῖς* . . . *ἄνωθεν* he applied his rule to it. Otherwise he must have drawn upon the ground or floor.

1002. *τὸν κανόν' . . . τὸν καμπύλον* I take to be a square, principally because this assumption suits best the explanation of Meton's geometry adopted below. I fail to see how a satisfactory explanation can be obtained by placing the comma after *κανόν'*, dissociating *καμπύλον* from *κανόν'* and attaching it to *διαβήτην* (*καμπύλον διαβήτην* is in any case redundant); or by taking *καμπύλον* to mean 'flexible' (Rogers) or 'curved' (its usual sense). Even if *καμπύλος* can mean 'flexible,' the flexible rule as Rogers (on line 1002) makes Meton use it seems to be less a help than a hindrance and is applied, in contradiction to Meton's words, *after* the compasses. I would not argue that a curved rule is an unlikely instrument and that the words almost contradict one another, since as Schroeder (on line 1002) points out the contradiction may be intentional and comical; but since it suits me best and is also possible—Erdmann observes that expressions like *γόνυ κάμπτειν* and *καμπύλους* show that *καμπύλος* can bear the required meaning (cf. also Plato, *Republic*, 602c, and the nautical term for doubling a headland, e.g. Herodotus, IV. 43, *κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον*)—I assume that Meton is armed with the usual simpler geometrical instruments, straight rule, square and compasses.

Here I should like to point out the unfairness of a remark made by von Gerkan (p. 53) in dismissing this passage as devoid of serious meaning—that one uses surveyor's chain and such instruments, not rule and square, in surveying. Meton is not surveying, but drawing a plan. Geometrical instruments, possibly on a larger scale for the benefit of the audience, are quite appropriate.

The version given below of the figure drawn by Meton is due, up to a certain point, to Erdmann, if I understand him rightly—his explanation is purely verbal. Erdmann himself is working on lines suggested sketchily in a note of Kock (on line 1005). At line 1004 however I would part company with Erdmann, with considerable resultant modifications in the figure produced.

1003. *ἐνθεῖς διαβήτην*. Having placed his square in position, Meton brings his

compasses into play. Placing the end of one leg in the angle of the square (hence *ἐν*), with the other end he describes a quarter-circle within the arms of the *καμπύλος κανών* (Fig. 2). Then, removing the *καμπύλος κανών*, he is able to complete the circle (Fig. 3). It may be objected that this assumes much which is not in the text; but it contradicts nothing which *is* in the text; Meton must do *something* with his

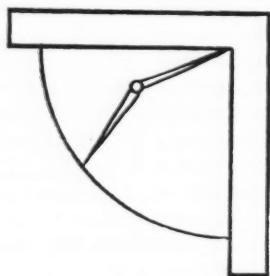


FIG. 2.

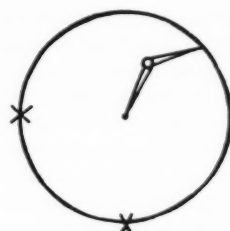


FIG. 3.

compasses, and time is allowed by the question and answer in the latter part of the line.

'οὐ μανθάνω sagt Pisth. und wir mit ihm,' remarks Schroeder. I would rather suggest that Peisthetaerus is being inattentive and perversely stupid about a simple operation.

1004. ὀρθῇ μετρήσω κανόνι. A *κανών* is normally ὀρθός and the adjective would normally be superfluous, but it is introduced here in an emphatic position to mark the distinction from the *καμπύλος κανών*. The contrast gives additional reason for not transferring *καμπύλον* to *διαβήτην*.

Now we see why Meton used the square instead of drawing a circle with the compasses without more ado. Placing his straight rule against the centre of the circle and one end of the original quarter-circle, which he has marked, he draws a line forming a prolonged diameter; then he places the rule against the centre and the

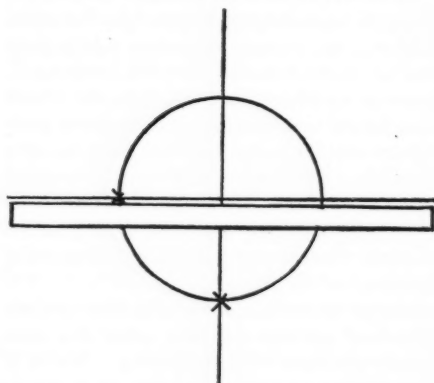


FIG. 4.

other end of the quarter-circle and draws another prolonged diameter at right angles to the first (Fig. 4); *μετρήσω* is an appropriate word for this—the result consists of *διάμετροι*.

1005. κύκλος . . . τετράγωνος. These words need not imply that the construction has produced anything approaching a solution of the famous geometrical problem of squaring the circle, i.e. constructing a square equal in area to a given circle, nor even that a square of any sort has been constructed. Meton has provided his circle with four *γωνίαι*, four right angles which are a prominent feature of the scheme; why not throw in by the way a humorous claim to have

made the circle *τετράγωνος*, even though the words mean something very different as a rule?

1006. ἀγορά . . . ὁδοί. After obscuring his original intention, as announced in line 996, with the geometrical jargon of lines 999-1005, Meton suddenly and vividly illustrates the practical meaning of his figure. Possibly he continues to use his *κανών* meanwhile and inserts between the main diameters a further series of lines

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radiating from the circle. The use of the present participle *προστιθείς* of the application of the *ὀρθὸς κανὼν*, in contrast with the aorist *ἐνθείς* in the case of the *καμπύλος* is worth observing.

1007. *ὥσπερ δ' ἀστέρως*. The exact reading is disputed here, and there is some doubt whether *αὐτοῦ* in the following line refers to *τὸ μέσον* or *ἀστέρως*; but the meaning of the simile is in any case clear. As in a star straight beams shoot out from a round centre, so in Meton's plan a circular agora is the focus and straight streets radiate from it on all sides. It matters little that the outline of the city is not defined in Fig. 5, and one need not assume that Meton takes his compasses again and draws an outer circle. The walls of the city are already seen rising, in a circle too (550), and in any case Meton is bundled out when no doubt he could have gone on lecturing much longer.

Erdmann, by making Meton simply draw diameters at line 1004, ends with a figure like a wheel with four spokes (Fig. 6). He makes this clearer in a statement on pp. 206-207 than in the actual description of Meton's doings (cf. also Kock on line 1005): 'so war die erste grundform gefunden als kreis, der durch zwei sich rechtwinklig schneidende durchmesser getheilt wird.' The circle represents the whole city. But even judging by lines 1005 and 1006, much more by line 1008, we expect the agora to be represented by more than the mere point of intersection of two lines. The plan would be more complete and more in agreement with the text if Erdmann had assumed that at the words *κὰν μέσῳ ἀγορά* Meton drew a smaller circle inside the large one to represent the agora (Fig. 7). Even then, however, the result is not so suggestive of the star simile as Fig. 5 or even Fig. 4.

It remains to anticipate certain inevitable general objections. Is it not absurd

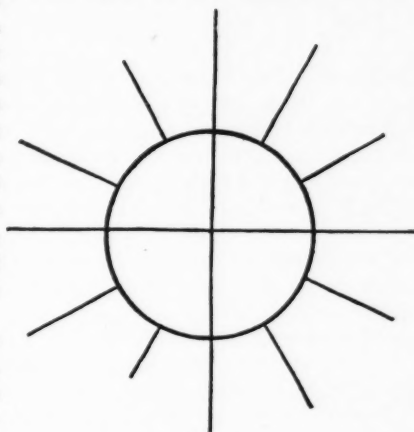


FIG. 5.

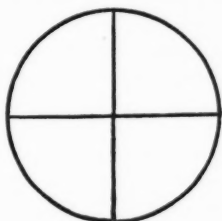


FIG. 6.

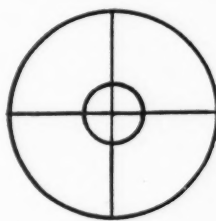


FIG. 7.

to expect from Aristophanes such minute accuracy? Is it not very unlikely that Aristophanes thought out geometrical details with such care? It may seem unlikely, but it is not inconceivable. Possibly he was saved the trouble; this method of drawing a circle with diameters at right angles may have been a ready-made text-book construction which he had up his sleeve. Again, what about the performance of the scene? Would not its details be quite wasted upon the audience? Not if Meton had large instruments and drew on a comparatively large scale. For this reason it would be safer to abandon the suggestion made above—that he drew on a sort of *πινυγός*—and adopt the alternative, that he used the ground. Lastly, does it not

destroy the comedy of the scene to make Meton so precise? I think not; the scene is still good burlesque; here we have a professor of mathematics lecturing in a comically pompous and learned strain to an unwilling and impatient hearer. The uncere- monious interruption and ejection which follow are all the more effective if they cut short an elaborate and painstaking demonstration. I cannot escape the conviction that Meton manipulates his instruments and suits the action to the word with some precision.

IV.

Kock's comment on line 1006 is 'ganz nach der Art des Hippodamos'—a rash statement, since concrete evidence hardly then existed for the methods of the architect whose name is associated with the development of regular town-planning in the fifth century. Erdmann, developing Kock's suggestions on this point too, used this passage as a valuable piece of evidence in support of his theory that the elements of the Hippodamian town-plan consisted of a circle with two diameters crossing at right angles.¹ It would be flogging a dead horse to attempt a lengthy refutation of Erdmann's theory.² Yet something must be said of it when the most recent editor of the *Birds*, Schroeder, merely modifies Kock's remark and says (on line 1004) 'es handelt sich . . . um einen Stadtplan nach dem Muster etwa des Hippodamos.' The principle of scientific town-planning in ancient Greece, and in fact elsewhere, was not the circle and its parts but the 'chess-board' arrangement with its two series of parallel streets at right angles.³ This is the easiest and most satisfactory method of division and gets the maximum out of the area for residential purposes. In Greece evidence for the fifth century is scanty; but Miletus, Hippodamus' native city, when rebuilt after the Persian wars, was laid out on these lines.⁴ Cities planned in the fourth century and Hellenistic times, which offer plentiful and conclusive archaeo- logical material, certainly used the chess-board pattern; in particular the agora, though roughly central, was not a focus, the centre of a circle, but was merely a square tangential to one of the streets⁵; Priene provides the clearest example. Hippodamus was not a fanciful detached theoretician—his chief activity was linked up with the practice of his own earlier years and with that of the succeeding century. In the case of Peiraeus, archaeological evidence, though scanty, points to a chess- board pattern.⁶ The radial or focal system has spectacular effect as its object,⁷ and is foreign to the general development of Greek town-planning. The city of Rhodes was indeed compared in its lay-out to a theatre,⁸ which suggests a radial plan; the Rhodians however had a singular taste for the magnificent; and the association of the city with the 'architect of Peiraeus,' mentioned with a doubtful *ὡς φασιν* by Strabo,⁹ is not generally accepted. In the case of Peiraeus, by which Hippodamus must chiefly be judged, archaeological evidence is not needed to prove that Erdmann's scheme (halved so as to form a semicircle in the case of seaside towns) will not apply. In addition to its agora by the harbour, Peiraeus had another inland,¹⁰ which quite upsets the scheme. Without further argument we may concur with von Gerkan's judgment¹¹ that Erdmann's theory is 'eine merkwürdige und buchstäblich aus der Luft gegriffene Ansicht vom Hippodamischen System.' On the assumption that Meton's figure is not as Erdmann would have it but more completely radial as in Fig. 5, it is even more evident that Meton is not preaching Hippodamian practice.

¹ See note on line 1007 above.

² See A. von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen*, p. 52.

³ See F. Haverfield, *Ancient Town Planning*, p. 14.

⁴ Von Gerkan, pp. 40, 41.

⁵ Von Gerkan, pp. 95, 96.

⁶ W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, pp. 76

and 430 (second edition); von Gerkan, pp. 54-56.

⁷ Von Gerkan, pp. 95, 96.

⁸ See Haverfield, p. 31.

⁹ Strabo, 14. 2. 9; see Haverfield, p. 31, and von Gerkan, pp. 43-46.

¹⁰ Pausanias, I. 1. § 3.

¹¹ P. 52.

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Having disposed of Erdmann, von Gerkan at once dismisses the passage from the *Birds* as of no importance to his subject. It deserves, I think, a little more consideration; though it does not furnish precise evidence such as Erdmann would extract, it bears a relation worth noticing to the actual arrangement of Greek towns and to ancient ideas on the subject.

The experts evolved a new principle, quite disconnected from the previous state of affairs, and based their schemes on sets of parallel straight lines. Aristophanes gives a layman's idea of a regular town-plan—his scheme is based upon the actual form of the older unplanned cities, as I hope to prove, and is conceived in terms of the circle and its parts—parallels from Plato will show that not Aristophanes alone thought on these lines. If Meton is to be caricatured by being made to produce a geometrical figure which will serve as a town-plan, the figure adopted is that which most naturally suggests itself to one uninitiated into the principles and practice of the experts; it is simply a straightening out of the old order or lack of order, and it is more spectacular and artistically more pleasing than the practical chess-board plan.

The older cities of Greece proper were the products of a long and irregular accumulative growth, and in almost all cases remained so even after scientific planning had become common in Ionia. There is little evidence for their street-plans, but one can safely deduce the general form of these. From early times the agora was the centre, for practical purposes, even when political power was centred in the Acropolis. It had to be equally easy of access to all, since here the citizens gathered for both political and commercial purposes. Its form, so far as it was not dictated by natural features, would tend to be roughly circular. Roads leading from neighbouring cities, from country villages and from suburbs converged upon the city, and when there was no rigid plan naturally continued in roughly the same lines to the agora; for this was the point which those who used them made for, whether country people or foreign visitors. These roads would not of course be perfectly straight radii; nor would they assume monumental form and offer splendid vistas as in consciously adopted radial planning. Their course would meander a good deal as it was deflected by natural contours or ancient precincts and buildings; but in spite of this the form of the older Greek cities would be roughly radial or focal, or at least suggestive of such a scheme. In a plan of one of them the agora would appear as a focus, as it does *not* in the plans of the scientifically built cities of Miletus or Priene.¹

All this is a fairly safe assumption. There are some scraps of evidence too. Pausanias, though late, can be quoted, since most of the cities he described remained unchanged and unplanned.² One constantly gets the impression from his descriptions that he is following a series of streets radiating from the agora. In a few cases topographical research throws a little additional light on the street-plan—at Sparta, for instance,³ where the agora or part of it was called *χορός*, suggesting a circular form; and Corinth, which though rebuilt was not replanned.⁴ At Athens itself the topographical complications were peculiar and obscured the general plan, and the agora itself was a complicated area with streets within it. But here too the agora was the most important factor in the street-system. Roads led straight to it from the north-western and western gates, and from the southern part of the city; and roads from the Prytaneum outside the agora on the east led to the eastern and southern quarters.⁵ Certain features were particularly suggestive. At Athens as elsewhere streets could be classified as *στενωποί* and *πλατεῖαι*; but at Athens and

¹ See von Gerkan, Pl. 6 and Pl. 9.

² Von Gerkan, pp. 114-118.

³ See Pausanias, III. 11. § 9; 12. § 1, § 10; 14. § 1; and Annual of British School at Athens, XII. pp. 431 ff.

⁴ See Pausanias, II. 2. § 6; 3. § 2, § 6; 4. § 6; and H. N. Fowler and R. Stillwell, *Corinth*, I,

Introduction, Topography and Architecture, pp. 84, 85, 86 and 135.

⁵ See Pausanias, I. 2. § 4; 18. § 4; 20. § 1; Judeich, *Topographie*, pp. 179, 181, 184; little evidence is furnished by the American excavation, but see *Hesperia*, IV, Seventh Report, pp. 328, 355, 358.

apparently nowhere else certain of the latter were distinguished by the name *δρόμος*.¹ These were comparatively broad straight streets leading from the gates into the interior. The *δρόμος* led from the Dipylum, the chief gate of Athens, on the north-west, to the agora, and though it did not receive its complete monumental form until the fourth century, Aristophanes may have had it especially in mind at line 1006. The altar of the Twelve Gods, founded by the Peisistratids, served as a central milestone for the roads which met beside it. Judeich² thought that it stood on the edge of the agora on the south-west; but the precinct has now been discovered and proves to be much more central—it is well inside the agora towards the north-west.³ Blaydes on line 1006 suggests that there is here an allusion to the altar. It is conceivable that particular details at Athens influenced Aristophanes; in general his plan is a reduction to a regular scheme of the irregular form typical of an old Greek town.

Plato too, when devising a form for an imaginary city,⁴ thought in terms of circles. Unlike Aristotle he shows no acquaintance with Hippodamus and his ways. The parallel with Aristophanes is only partial and does not involve radial streets; but the agora is there as a nucleus, the important shrines form a ring round it, and around the whole in a circle is the rest of the city. Such a scheme is not Hippodamian, though of course Erdmann thinks it is; in actual Greek town-planning the two series of parallel streets dominated the whole plan, and agora, shrines, and all were subordinate to it. One recalls Plato's Atlantis too;⁵ here the nucleus consists of a series of concentric rings of earth and water, the city wall forms another concentric circle at a distance of fifty stadia, and one diameter at least is defined, by a canal running from the centre to the outer edge. All this forms a scheme very appropriate to a creation of the fancy and very satisfying to the inexperienced eye and mind; the Greek experts worked on very different lines and did not use the circle. When the more spectacular methods of planning have been used in practice, they have in many cases been the result of the will and fancy of a despot.⁶

¹ See Judeich, p. 184; sources quoted in notes 2, 3 and 5 on that page.

² Pp. 64 and 350.

³ See *Hesperia*, IV, Seventh Report, pp. 355-358.

⁴ *Laws*, 778c.

⁵ *Critias*, 115c ff.; see for plan P. Friedländer, *Platon*, I, Pl. III. Friedländer on p. 271 mentions but rejects the assumption that there were more bridges crossing the rings of water, giving the inner city a radial form. He sees something oriental in Plato's Atlantis, and finds oriental parallels for its regular circular form.

I have confined myself above to Greek authors. I may be reminded of Vitruvius (I. vi). His street-plan is radial, and he was a practical man. Vitruvius may have been thoroughly practical on architecture in the more limited sense, but the scheme he gives here is hardly practical town-planning, and was certainly not followed as a rule by either Greek or Roman builders. It is based on the assumption that the winds must be excluded from the streets for health's sake; which is doubtful and not in agreement with Greek medical authors. Hippocrates (*Airs, Waters and Places*, iii-vi), while not concerning himself with the orientation of streets, thinks that cities exposed to the north, south, and west winds are unhealthy, but approves of a situation facing east; Oreibasius (ed. Bussemaker-Darem-

berg, II. 318 ff.; quoted by T. Wiegand in *Priene*, p. 46) in flat contradiction of Vitruvius thinks it healthy that the winds should be allowed a straight and unobstructed passage along the streets, and approves of a system of parallel straight streets running north to south and east to west.

The method by which Vitruvius proposes to secure his object depends on the idea that there are precisely eight winds, blowing along fairly definite lines; an arbitrary though common assumption, for which the author himself apologizes obscurely. Vitruvius too, I would say, shows no acquaintance with Hippodamus; his too is a fanciful scheme divorced from the practice of the ancients.

⁶ See von Gerkan, p. 96. I have looked at the principles of town-planning chiefly from the ancient point of view. Some modern planners, facing very different circumstances and problems, find more reason to favour the radial scheme. For traffic and communications in a great modern city this has advantages. Compact chess-board planning in large industrial towns has given rise to great evils. The reaction from this is towards methods more spacious and more pleasing aesthetically, which the ancient planner, housing a comparatively small population in a compact and defensible area, need not and could not adopt.

That Aristophanes and even Plato in touching upon the subject should show no apparent acquaintance with its true technique need not be thought surprising. This technique had admittedly had a history of nearly a century before Aristophanes' time, but in Greece proper it was never popular and was very sparingly applied. The Athenians had one great example to hand in their own harbour town; but there the irregularities of shape and contour would break up the scheme and to some extent prevent its elements from being self-evident, and in any case it might not have been fully realized that the system adopted in Peiraeus embodied an inherent principle.

It may be objected that I have after all fallen into the error for which Erdmann has been criticized and which I have tried to avoid—the attribution to Aristophanes of a serious object-lesson. To meet this objection I should like to make it clear that I regard the aspect of the passage which I have been discussing as of very subsidiary importance for the scene and play in which it occurs. Aristophanes' primary object is to poke fun at Meton; since Meton is a mathematician and since a city is in building, the most appropriate thing he can do is to draw a geometrical figure which will serve as a town-plan. I should hesitate to ascribe any further motive; at most I would tentatively suggest that Aristophanes, having heard vaguely of the idea of reducing a town's streets to a set scheme, considers it new-fangled, fanciful, and unpractical, applicable in fact to the air. The possibility also occurs to me that some theoretician had actually aired a scheme for replanning Athens, and Aristophanes is deriding the notion; but this must be left as a very uncertain possibility and can hardly be pressed.

R. E. WYCHERLEY.

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

Thucydides is reckoning by days and must have had a definite day in mind. He implies that the two acts of the Lacedaemonians and their allies whereby he marks the end of the war were done on the same day. They are indeed one; the occupation of the Long walls and the Piraeus did *ipso facto* end the empire of the Athenians. For military reasons the Spartan commander must have occupied the Piraeus and at least a section of the Long walls on the day of the capitulation, as securities for the execution of the terms. Xenophon¹ expressly states that the Athenians accepted the terms on the very next day after Theramenes had returned, bringing them, from Lacedaemon; his statement is guaranteed by the famine at Athens, which permitted no delay, and by his sudden vividness in mentioning the hungry crowds that thronged Theramenes, which, in him, bespeaks a personal reminiscence. The day to which Thucydides reckons is therefore the day on which the Athenian Assembly accepted the terms of surrender.

It is generally assumed that Plutarch means the same as Thucydides. When he tells us that Lysander took over both the ships (except twelve) and the walls of the Athenians, it is not unnatural to understand him to refer to the same transaction, although Thucydides ignores Lysander and the ships. This impression is clinched by the fact that he clearly does refer to the capitulation, for he here simply resumes, and dates, what he ascribed to Lysander in the middle of the previous chapter (*Lys.* 14), "Ἢδη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κακῶς ἔχειν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πνυθανόμενος κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ παρεστῆσατο τὴν πόλιν, ἀναγκασθεῖσαν ἐφ' οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευε ποιῆσασθαι τὰς διαλύσεις.

Nevertheless a stricter inspection may suggest that Thucydides and Plutarch are at cross-purposes and are reckoning the war to a different close. They view it from a different aspect. Thucydides (*I.* 1) defined his subject to be the war waged by the Peloponnesians and Athenians. The capitulation of Athens, when the Lacedaemonians and their allies occupied the Long walls and the Piraeus and thereby ended the Athenian empire, finished the war and abolished the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις which had, in Thucydides' eyes, provoked it. He may have contemplated an epilogue, just as he has added a prologue, but the day of the capitulation, even regarded as no more than the cessation of hostilities, had a supreme significance of its own in his historical scheme. Plutarch was writing not the history of the war but the life of Lysander; his interest centres in the achievements of his 'hero.' The surrender to Lysander of the Athenian fleet and walls was the climax of his career, and his biographer duly records the date of it, but its absolute coincidence with the capitulation of Athens was a point which he needed not stop nor care to verify; it was a detail of military history outside his purpose.

Lysander's entry into the Piraeus is a prominent feature in the accounts given by Xenophon and Lysias of the surrender of Athens, and it is obvious that they refer to the same occasion as Plutarch: Lysander κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, and took over the ships and walls (*Plutarch, Lys.* 14, 15); Lysander κατέπλει εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, and the demolition of the walls began (*Xenophon, II.* ii. 23); Lysander εἰς τοὺς λιμένας τοὺς ὑμετέρους εἰσέπλευσε, and the ships were handed over and the walls demolished (*Lysias, XIII.* 34).

But Xenophon separates the κατάπλους of Lysander from the capitulation by a μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα: 'After this' (the vote of the Assembly accepting the terms) 'Lysander proceeded to sail into the Piraeus, and the exiles returned, and they set about demolishing the walls to the music of flute-girls with great enthusiasm, regarding that day to be the beginning of freedom for Hellas.'² Indeed some interval was

¹ *Xen. Hell.* II. ii. 21-2. Cf. *Lys.* XIII. 13. My references to Xenophon will all be to his *Hellenica* unless otherwise noted.

² This section reads to me like II. iv. 43. The author has finished in section 22 the task which he had undertaken, the continuation of Thucy-

necessary. The Athenians had closed two of their three harbours with dams,¹ and it appears that the one left open was Munichia;² to open the Piraeus must have been a serious operation. Moreover, Lysander's entry was a triumphal celebration; time was needed to collect the exiles and the band, and to organize the show. Further, one might expect some negotiation on the number of ships to be allowed to the Athenians, for it was not prescribed in the terms brought by Theramenes. In fact there was much more to be done before Lysander sailed into the Piraeus than could have been accomplished in an April afternoon.

In Xenophon's account the interval is discernible; in Lysias' it is patent. The whole episode of the so-called democratic conspiracy³ intervenes between the return of Theramenes from Lacedaemon and 'the Assembly about the peace' which led up to Lysander's εἰσπλους. It was after Theramenes' return that Strombichides and Dionysodorus and their associates first learnt the terms and, scenting the danger to the democracy, expressed to him their disappointment and indignation.⁴ The development of their opposition, and of the elaborate oligarchic counterplot, the information laid by Theocritus in the Council, the election of representatives of the Council and their mission to the Piraeus and back, the attempt of Nicias and his friends to induce Agoratus to escape with them from Munichia in two boats which they provided, the second journey of the emissaries of the Council to arrest Agoratus and his sureties at Munichia, the information laid by him, first in the Council at Athens and subsequently in a meeting of the Assembly held in the theatre at Munichia, the supplementary delations of Menestratus, the arrest and imprisonment of the democratic die-hards—all these transactions obviously took time, and they suggest, indeed imply, the lapse of several weeks, a month rather than a day. But, it was on the day after Theramenes' return that Athens capitulated, it was not until the democratic protestants had been incarcerated that (as Lysias reminded the jury) 'Lysander sailed into your harbours, and your ships were given over to the Lacedaemonians, and the walls were demolished, and the Thirty were appointed, and what dire consequence did not befall the city?' It might be argued that Lysias has continued his catalogue of calamities too long, but it is clear that he begins it from the day of Lysander's triumphal entry, Xenophon's ἐκεῖνη ἡ ἡμέρα, which Plutarch dates as the 16th of Munychion.

It appears therefore from the testimony of contemporary witnesses that there was a not inconsiderable interval between the capitulation and Lysander's κατά- (or εἰσ-)πλους. Plutarch's narrative leaves no doubt that he has combined the two events. The most natural inference from the evidence is that he has merged the former into the latter and so thrust it from its true date down to Munychion 16. It might however be contended that this inference should be reversed; Munychion 16 may be the right date of the capitulation, and Plutarch may have transferred Lysander's entry to that day.

But there are objections to this alternative suggestion which seem to me conclusive. (1) Xenophon's description shows that the day of Lysander's triumphal entry was regarded as the consummation of the surrender and the formal close of the war: it was more celebrated than the day of the actual capitulation. (2) The fame of

dides' history, down to the end set by Thucydides himself. He appends to it a sort of 'envoy,' which rounds off the story but carries it over the appointed limit beyond which he did not mean to pursue it. The break between II. ii. 22 and 23, marked by *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*, is of course a matter of days only, whereas that between II. iv. 42 and 43, marked by *ὁστέρω δὲ χρόνῳ*, extends to a couple of years.

¹ Xen. II. ii. 4.

² Lys. XIII. 25, 58. Lysias (XIII. 34) lets Lysander into all the harbours.

³ Lys. XIII. 13-63. Cf. XVIII. 4-5.

⁴ Lys. XIII. 13. We may recognize them in the speakers who opposed Theramenes' motion accepting the terms in the Assembly on the day after his arrival (Xen. II. ii. 22. Cf. Plut. Lys. 14).

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¹ Plut
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Lysander attributed to him alone the conquest of Athens, and Plutarch is not likely in this connexion to have been more critical; he would substitute Lysander's day for the day of the capitulation rather than *vice versa*. (3) Plutarch attaches the date Munychion 16 directly to the day on which Lysander took possession of the ships and the walls. (4) An earlier date for the capitulation would better satisfy Thucydides' computation of the duration of the war. (5) Plutarch's narrative, as a narrative of the capitulation itself, is a gross travesty of what we gather from contemporary sources to have really happened, but it is reasonably explicable as an account of Lysander's subsequent action. Presumably therefore Plutarch has altogether omitted the actual capitulation, and, if so, its date with it; Munychion 16 would cohere with the substituted context.

We have distinguished between the capitulation and the surrender of the ships and walls to Lysander when he sailed into the Piraeus. But is there any real difference? Xenophon and Lysias differ from Plutarch on the time of Lysander's entry, but they substantially agree with him on the ships and walls. Was not the surrender of the ships and walls the same as the capitulation? Why should there be two surrenders?

Here we have to distinguish between the armistice and the peace. Thucydides has reckoned the first (ten years') period of the war down to the conclusion of the peace of Nicias, but a few pages later he computes the total duration of the war, not to the conclusion of peace, but 'to the date when the Lacedaemonians and their allies put an end to the empire of the Athenians and occupied the Long walls and the Piraeus.' The difference in statement, the change in the *terminus ad quem*, surely implies that this date was not the date of the peace.

The terms brought back by Theramenes from Lacedaemon were few and simple, the barest summary of the conditions on which the Spartan government would grant a peace. To judge by the Ephors' dispatch quoted by Plutarch¹ the essential stipulations were two only: the Athenians were to knock down the fortifications of the Piraeus and the Long walls, and they were to withdraw from all their overseas dominions. A clause requiring the restoration of the political exiles is clumsily inserted and is clearly an afterthought added to the original draft; the exiles had no doubt pressed for it, and Theramenes had advocated the claim.² The debatable question of the number of warships to be allowed to the Athenians was left open for decision at Athens. The Athenians had already offered in their first overtures to enter the Spartan alliance; this indispensable condition, with all its important implications, is now tacitly assumed.

This Laconic document is obviously a mere outline. It had to be supplemented by a fuller agreement, and (as Busolt recognized³) it was so supplemented. From Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 34, 3) and Diodorus (XIV. 3) we find that the definitive treaty included a provision that Athens should be governed in accordance with its *πάτριος πολιτεία*. Some such formula is a standing provision in treaties made between the Spartans and their allies.⁴ Xenophon too adds to the terms brought by Theramenes the condition that the Athenians should accept the leadership of the Lacedaemonians in foreign policy and in war both by land and by sea. Further, Xenophon, Andocides, Diodorus, and Plutarch define the number of ships to be retained by the Athenians, which was expressly left indeterminate in the Ephors' dispatch. As Andocides is quoting from the inscription which recorded the peace, this detail is derived no doubt from the later treaty.

On the other hand, although it furnished no more than a preliminary basis for

¹ Plut. *Lys.* 14. Cf. Andoc. III. 11-12, 31, 39; Xen. II. ii. 20; *Lys.* XIII. 14; Diod. XIII. 107.

² *Lys.* XII. 77.

³ *G. G.* III. pp. 1635-6, note, and 1638.

⁴ Cf. Thuc. V. 77, 79.

a definitive treaty of peace, the dispatch gave the necessary terms on which the capitulation could be effected and an armistice granted. In particular the two essential stipulations could be guaranteed instantly and on the spot by a single act, the occupation of the Piraeus and the Long walls. But, let it be noted, those two outstanding conditions laid down in the Ephors' dispatch exactly correspond to the two acts done by the Lacedaemonians and their allies which for Thucydides mark the end of the war! He dates by the armistice, not by the formal peace.

We can now see the significance of the differences between Thucydides' and Plutarch's statements. According to Plutarch Lysander took over, or received the surrender of (*παρέλαβε*), all the ships, except twelve, and the walls of the Athenians on the 16th of Munychion. Thucydides does not mention Lysander, but speaks of the Lacedaemonians and their allies. Neither Xenophon nor Lysias, nor any other authority but Plutarch, leads us to suppose that Lysander was present at the capitulation. We should naturally infer from the mission of Theramenes¹ that he was nowhere near Attica during the negotiations, and according to the highly probable account of Diodorus (XIII. 107) his fleet maintained the blockade from a distance. The Athenians addressed their first overtures to Agis.² The surrender, precipitated by the famine, was completed in twenty-four hours. Presumably Agis and his troops, being on the spot, were 'the Lacedaemonians and their allies' who 'occupied (*κατέλαβον*) the Long walls and the Piraeus'; they comprised Peloponnesian allies as well as Lacedaemonians.³

Thucydides does not mention the ships. I think we are justified in assuming that they were not included in the securities taken under the armistice. One reason why their surrender was not immediately demanded may be seen in the Ephors' dispatch, which did not decide the question of the ships, or at least the number to be conceded to the Athenians. A further reason, which perhaps tied the Ephors, may have been that in a naval matter the decision rested with Lysander. Is this another indication that he was not at the moment at the Piraeus? At all events Plutarch, who gives even the number of ships excepted, appears to refer to a later date than Thucydides.

The contrast between Thucydides' *κατέλαβον* and Plutarch's *παρέλαβε* is significant. If our argument is valid, Lysander took over the ships direct from the Athenians, but the walls from Agis. Plutarch's word would be equally appropriate to both transactions, but I do not suspect him of any such double intention; he no doubt believed that Lysander received the surrender of both ships and walls from the Athenians. In a sense he was right, for the main distinction to be drawn is not between what Lysander received from the Athenians and what he received from Agis, but between the surrender of the walls under the armistice and the surrender of the ships and walls under the treaty of peace. The walls were twice surrendered, but, whereas under the armistice the surrender was *πίστεως ἕνεκα*, under the treaty it was an absolute surrender, of the ships for transfer to Spartan ownership, of the walls for demolition; and the demolition begins simultaneously with the transfer on the day of Lysander's triumphal entry. Thucydides' *κατέλαβον* and Plutarch's *παρέλαβε* well express the distinction.⁴

¹ Xen. II. ii. 16.

² Xen. II. ii. 11.

³ Thuc. VII. 27.

⁴ In this connexion I may be allowed what the critics might describe as 'a conjecture not admitted to the text.' Thucydides tells us that it was the Long walls and the Piraeus that were occupied by the Lacedaemonians and their allies, and the Ephors demand the destruction

of just those same two fortifications. Is it not possible that, pending the conclusion of the peace, Munichia may have been left in possession of the Athenians? Munichia is sometimes distinguished from the Piraeus, notably by Xenophon on a parallel occasion (II. iv. 37). During the occupation of the Piraeus the Athenians can exercise jurisdiction and hold a meeting of the Assembly at Munichia, and the port was free

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The conclusion to which my argument leads has been plain from the outset. Thucydides ends the war at the occupation of the Long walls and the Piraeus; Plutarch's date, Munychion 16, refers to Lysander's entry into the Piraeus. There was an interval between the two which we may estimate with some confidence at not less than three or four weeks. The 16th of Munychion was the 22nd of April; therefore the date intended by Thucydides was in the latter part, or possibly even about the middle, of March.

The surrender of the Long walls and the Piraeus is the military counterpart of the capitulation accepted by the Athenian Assembly on the day after Theramenes' return from Lacedaemon, and it was doubtless effected on that day. Thucydides, apart from his sceptical interest in the exception which proved the rule that all the oracles were refuted by the events, and beyond his special interest as its historian in the end of the war, had every right to fasten upon that date, for (as we ourselves have learnt) to the generation of men who have gone through a great war the day of the armistice is an indelible memory. Yet that firm date has perished and has been supplanted by the date of—Lysander's pageant? No, not quite that. Plutarch in this matter had, like Thucydides, an interest in the verification of a superstition, for he notes the retributive coincidence of the calendar dates of Lysander's entry and the Athenian victory at Salamis, and had, like Thucydides, a special interest in that day as a cardinal point in his story, but we may claim for him too that his date has its real importance. For surely there is strong presumptive evidence that the day of Lysander's triumph was the day on which the formal peace was concluded. That was of course the reason for the celebrations, and the concerted return of the exiles (as we may imagine) in festal procession, and the symbolic demolition of the walls to music, inaugurating the freedom of Hellas; and why else was the date preserved when posterity had forgotten the capitulation than because the 16th of Munychion was engraved on the stones, and copied into the history-books, that recorded the peace?

Looking back and forwards I see two questions which might be asked. First, if we push the capitulation back into March, do we leave time enough between the battle of Aegospotami and the overtures to Agis, to which the Athenians were driven, according to Xenophon (II. ii. 11), by the exhaustion of their corn? The whole series of negotiations took fully four months,¹ probably longer. Counting back from near the end of March we may put their inception about the middle of November, close upon the establishment of the naval blockade.² The latest possible date for the battle is early in September.³ The interval would therefore be at least two months. Cut off at a critical season of the year from their main supplies of corn the Athenians would no doubt feel the pinch in two months.⁴ It may still be questioned whether they would be already dying of starvation, as Xenophon asserts. But on this point he is convicted of exaggeration. On the establishment of the blockade it seems that Pausanias withdrew his army, and Lysander went away on his other business; they expected the investment to be long. The Athenians held out for at least four months. Lysias, in spite of the temptation to sharpen the point against Theramenes, speaks almost coolly of the privations of the people, without any of Xenophon's tragic instances. Perhaps political sympathies coloured their views differently; the oligarchs were pressing the case for surrender, the democrats for resistance.

(Lys. XIII. 24-32). Agis might have found it difficult to garrison all the fortifications with the force at his disposal. May Munichia and the ships have been treated as a single whole and reserved to be dealt with under the terms of the peace?

¹ Xen. II. ii. 11-17. Cf. Lys. XIII. 11.

² Lys. XIII. 5; XXI. 3, 9.

³ Xen. II. i. 17; Demosth. L. 4-6; Busolt, *G.G.* III. p. 1620, note. Cf. A. Mommsen, *Chron.* pp. 421-4.

⁴ Cf. Demosth. XX. 31-2.

The second question is whether the date of the peace can be settled without reference to the establishment of the Thirty. But that thorny problem falls outside the lower limit of my present subject. No change in the constitution is hinted at in the terms of the capitulation, and clearly there was no overt discussion of it before the alliance with Sparta was concluded, which enjoined the *πάτριος πολιτεία*. Lysias (XIII. 16, 47) ascribes to the recalcitrant democrats no more than a 'presentiment' of the revolution, and (XII. 68-72) accuses Theramenes of having sprung it on the citizens at the appointed moment. Historians¹ have reproached Lysias with having deliberately falsified the chronology and confused 'the Assembly about the peace' with 'the Assembly about the constitution.' However that may be, it is clear that by 'the Assembly about the peace' he means, not the Assembly which (as Xenophon tells, II. ii. 22) accepted the terms of capitulation, but the Assembly which ratified the treaty on Lysander's day, the 16th of Munychion. The constitutional question first arose on or after that date and belongs to a later chapter of the story. Pompeius Trogus seems to have well understood and expressed the position; for Justin,² although his abstract of the terms is faulty, concludes with the words 'In has leges traditam sibi urbem Lacedaemonii formandam Lysandro tradiderunt.'

J. A. R. MUNRO.

LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

¹ Even Grote, vol. VIII. (1855 ed.) p. 320, note.

² V. viii. 6. (For 'in has leges' compare

Livy, XXXIII. 30, which contains also some interesting historical parallels.)

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POLLIO, SALONINUS AND SALONAE.

A CALM has succeeded the clamour of the Virgilian Bimillenary, to be shattered all too soon by the commemoration of Augustus. In this brief interval there may be leisure to examine a question touching the career of Asinius Pollio and the history of the years 42-39 B.C. The Virgilian celebrations evoked two outstanding studies of the *Fourth Eclogue*, a poem dedicated to Pollio and written during—or perhaps just after—the consulate of Pollio (40 B.C.). Carcopino restated and sought to reinforce an opinion widely held in late antiquity among commentators of Virgil—the miraculous child of the poem was Saloninus, a son of Asinius Pollio: the child was born, he suggests, soon after the conclusion of the Pact of Brundisium, and shortly before the end of the year 40, while Pollio was still consul. At the time Pollio was at Salonae, on the coast of Dalmatia, which city his son's name commemorates.¹ Tarn, however, adopting and reinforcing the theory put forward by Slater in 1912, argued that the *Fourth Eclogue* shows traces of being an epithalamium in form, designed to celebrate the wedding of Antony and Octavia, the seal and bond of the Pact of Brundisium which was concluded in the autumn of the year 40 between the dynasts Antony and Octavian; Pollio, a friend and a partisan of Antony, acted as his plenipotentiary in the negotiations; the new epoch was thus introduced under the auspices of Pollio, 'te duce'; the child was the child to be expected from the marriage of Antony and Octavia;² it turned out in fact to be a girl.

This paper does not propose to discuss once again the identity of the perennial infant, human or divine: indeed, it is presented merely as a by-product of investigations into the history of Illyricum. It will have some relevance to that question, however, for an attempt will be made to show (1) that the city of Salonae, situated near Split, on the Dalmatian coast, was not included in the province allotted to Pollio after the Pact of Brundisium; (2) that the child Saloninus did not derive his name from that city.

The connection of Pollio and his son with Salonae, a persuasion inherited from the ancient commentators, appears to be universally held. The majority of scholars believe that Pollio named his son to commemorate his capture of the city of Salonae. Pollio's capture of Salonae is recorded in manuals of literature, in general histories of Rome and in special studies of Dalmatian affairs or of Roman provincial administration: it is accepted as a fact by the authoritative names of Groebe, Schanz-Hosius, Groag, Gardthausen, Tarn, Dessau, Zippel, Patsch and Ganter.³ Even Bennett in his acute study of the relations between Virgil and Pollio remarks that 'Saloninus quite obviously commemorates by his cognomen the taking of Salona'.⁴ A small and distinguished minority, represented by Mommsen and Carcopino, is sceptical about a capture of Salonae:⁵ but Carcopino maintains that Pollio spent the winter of the year

¹ J. Carcopino, *Virgile et le mystère de la IV^e églogue*, 1930.

² W. W. Tarn, 'Alexander Helios and the Golden Age', *JRS* XXII (1932), 135 ff.; cf. D. A. Slater, 'Was the *Fourth Eclogue* written to celebrate the marriage of Octavia to Mark Antony?' *CR* XXVI (1912), 111.

³ Groebe, in Drumann-Groebe, *Gesch. Roms* II², 8 f. and *P-W*, s.v. C. Asinius Pollio, 1592; Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. der r. Litt.* II (1935), 25; Groag, *Plk*², s.v. C. Asinius Pollio: Gardthausen, *Augustus u. seine Zeit* I, 1, 236; Tarn in *CAH* X, 49; Dessau, *Gesch. der r. Kaiserzeit* I, 400 f.; Zippel, *Die r. Herrschaft in Illyrien*, 223 ff.; Patsch, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa* V, 1, 55; Ganter, *Die Provinzialverwaltung der Triumvirn*, Diss. Strassburg (1892), 71 ff.

⁴ H. Bennett, 'Virgil and Pollio', *AJP* LI (1930), 341.

⁵ Mommsen, *CIL* III, p. 304; Carcopino, *o.c.*, 173.

40/39 at Salona and named his son, born, it is argued, in 40, just before the end of the year, as a memorial of his sojourn.

A position so firmly fortified by time, numbers and authority cannot be taken by a frontal assault; but it may collapse from within. If the evidence about Pollio's activities in the years 42-39 is examined to discover what light it throws upon his campaign beyond the Adriatic, after the Pact of Brundisium, it is seen to fall sharply apart into two classes. On the one side stand the historians and the *Acta Triumphalia*, evidence which though not abundant is unbiassed and unequivocal: on the other, the scholiasts on Virgil and the scholiast (Porphyrio) on Horace's ode in honour of Pollio (2, 1). This testimony cannot be described as disinterested, for it is the fate of the scholiast that he must always be ready with an explanation. Now it is only the scholiasts that introduce Salona in connection with Pollio and his son: the name of the Parthini, the native tribe over which Pollio in fact and officially triumphed, has escaped their notice. From the historians can be derived a simple and intelligible view of Pollio's campaign beyond the Adriatic: with the scholiasts enter confusion and error, locked in a close embrace.

To illustrate the sharp and complete distinction between these two classes of evidence it will be necessary to give a brief account of Pollio's movements, so far as they can be ascertained from the historians, in the years 42-39.

After Philippi it was decided, so we are informed by Appian, that Cisalpine Gaul should not be a province any more but should be united to Italy.¹ But the change may not at once have been put into effect. In 41 and 40 B.C. the presence of Pollio in this region is attested—he had an army of seven legions, and for a time sought to prevent Octavian's general Salvidienus Rufus from marching from Italy to Spain.² The ancient commentators and biographers of Virgil bring the presence of Pollio in northern Italy into connection with the allotment of lands to veterans—plausibly, perhaps, though there is not a word of this in the historians, whose evidence suggests that he held a more important post than that of land-commissioner. The exact nature of Pollio's command, the extent of his competence and of his *provincia* are uncertain and, fortunately, irrelevant to the present enquiry.³ Of his politics there is no doubt. The outbreak of hostilities in Italy between Octavian and the faction of L. Antonius during the year 41 B.C., which culminated in the siege of Perusia, placed Pollio, like the other Antonian army-commanders, in a cruel dilemma which was reflected in the indecision of their movements. After half-hearted attempts to relieve the doomed city, Pollio retired north-eastwards.⁴ Perusia fell in February or March of 40 B.C. Pollio maintained himself for a time in Venetia, fighting against the generals of Octavian at Altinum and other places. From this point to his appearance at Brundisium in the autumn of the year, all is obscure; our only definite information comes from Velleius, and it is scanty enough—'Pollio Asinius cum septem legionibus, diu retenta in potestate Antoni Venetia, magnis speciosisque rebus circa Altinum aliasque eius regionis urbis editis, Antonium petens, vagum adhuc Domitium . . . consiliis suis illectum ac fide data iunxit Antonio'.⁵ Pollio sought to join Antony. This he was able to do, for he won over to the cause of Antony the

¹ Appian, *BC* 5, 3; cf. *ib.*, 21 and Dio 48, 12, 5.

² Velleius 2, 76, 2; Appian, *BC* 5, 20.

³ Carcopino (*o.c.*, 169) describes Pollio as governor of Cisalpine Gaul, Groebe (Drumann-Groebe II, 7) and Bennett (*A/P* LI, 328) say that he was Antony's legate in charge of the Transpadana. The terms 'governor' and 'legate' have a convenient vagueness. Cisalpine Gaul, to be sure, was to be reckoned a part of Italy after Philippi (cf. Appian, *BC* 5, 3, above, n. 1): yet even in the time of Augustus a proconsul is attested at Milan

(Suetonius, *De Rhet.* 6). In the matter of Pollio's status in 41-40 B.C. I do not feel called upon to discuss the theory of J. Bayet ('Virgile et les "triumviri agris dividendis"', *Rev. ét. lat.* VI (1928), 270 ff.) to the effect that Pollio was one of a board of three rotating land-commissioners, Pollio functioning in 41, Alfenus Varus in 40 and Cornelius Gallus in 39. Gallus, be it noted, was not a senator, but a man of equestrian rank.

⁴ Appian, *BC* 5, 31-33; 35; 50.

⁵ Velleius 2, 76, 2; cf. Appian, *BC* 5, 50.

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republican Domitius Ahenobarbus, whose fleet controlled the Adriatic. How many of his legions he was able to convey down the Adriatic is uncertain. However that may be, he is next heard of at Brundisium. He acted for Antony in concluding the famous Pact in late September or early October of the year 40.¹

Pollio and Cn. Domitius Calvinus were the *consules ordinarii* of the year 40. The outbreak of the Perusine War had prevented Pollio from entering upon office on January 1st—indeed he may never have seen the city as consul. He may have accompanied the dynasts on their brief visit to Rome after the conclusion of the Pact of Brundisium—perhaps not. Appian states that from Brundisium Antony and Octavian at once despatched their friends to deal with various urgent tasks.² But it is not certain that Pollio was one of these friends. However that may be, shortly before the end of the year a pair of suffect consuls was installed, namely L. Cornelius Balbus and P. Canidius Crassus.³ For the date of the composition of the *Fourth Eclogue*, this fact is of less importance than might be supposed. Whether Pollio laid down the consulate in October, November or December, the whole year was reckoned, for purposes of dating, by the eponymous consuls, Pollio and Calvinus.⁴ There would indeed have been no impropriety if the poem was composed—as perhaps it was—after the eponymous consuls had been replaced by others. The important fact is that the Treaty of Brundisium was signed, not merely while Pollio was still technically consul, but as a result of his mediation.

It may be that Pollio first visited Rome as consul; it may be that he laid down his consulate at once and was despatched across the Adriatic from Brundisium to Dyrrachium. In any case, consul no longer, but proconsul, he went to one of Antony's provinces.⁵ A tribe in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, the Parthini, had been giving trouble.⁶ It was Pollio who suppressed them, as the *Acta Triumphalia* and the historian Cassius Dio attest.⁷

Many pangs would have been spared and many hypotheses stifled if scholars had cared to enquire which was in fact the province assigned to Pollio after the Pact of Brundisium, and what was its extent. The triumph which Pollio celebrated for his victorious campaign on October 25th of 39 or of 38 B.C. (for the year is missing) was recorded thus on the *Acta Triumphalia*—'C. Asinius Cn. f. Pollio pro cos. an. [. . . .] ex Parthineis VIII K. Novem'.⁸ The Parthini are described by Dio

¹ As an indication of the date, Pais (*Dalle guerre Puniche a Cesare Augusto* I, 367 ff.) adduced the inscription *CIL* X, 5159, which records the setting-up of a 'Signum Concordiae' on October 12th at Casinum, a veteran colony. Carcopino (*o.c.*, 123) seeks to fix the date of the Pact as October 5th or 6th.

² Appian, *BC* 5, 65, ἐὸς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ ἐλγόντα τοὺς φίλους ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν περιέπεμψεν. Appian does not mention Pollio here—only the sending of Ventidius against the Parthians. And it is not until a later passage (5, 75) that he speaks of the despatch of troops to the Balkans to deal with the Parthini. Further, Pollio's predecessor in Macedonia did not triumph until January 1st, 39; cf. below, p. 42, n. 5.

³ *CIL* I², pp. 60 and 64. Dio 48, 32, 1, καὶ τοῖς τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν, καὶ περ ἐπ' ἐξέδῳ ἥδη τοῦ ἔτους διτος, παύσαντες ἄλλους ἀντικατέστησαν, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες εἰ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἀρξοῦσιν. These words suggest that there was an interval after Brundisium when Pollio was still consul; so he may well have gone to Rome.

⁴ Cf., e.g., Josephus, *AJ* 14, 389.

⁵ Carcopino (*o.c.*, 175 ff.) argues that Pollio was still consul when he arrived at the other side of the Adriatic. This is necessary to his thesis—and it might be true. His attempt to prove that Pollio's colleague, Calvinus was still consul when he had reached his province of Spain is not conclusive. The inscription *CIL* II, 6186 (Emporiae), 'Cn. Domitio M. f. Calvino' cos. iter[r.], Apoll[. . .]'], or coins with the legend 'cos. iter. imp.', do not prove this. 'Cos. iter.' is here a permanent title, not an indication of date. Compare *ILS* 42 (Rome), describing Calvinus as 'cos. iter. imper.' This inscription must date from 36 B.C. at the earliest.

⁶ For their situation, see below, p. 42.

⁷ *CIL* I², pp. 50 and 77; Dio 48, 41, 7. Note also the existence of a person called Asinius Epicadus, 'ex gente Parthina' (Suetonius, *Divus Aug.* 19), presumably a freed slave of Pollio.

⁸ *CIL* I², p. 50—there is no way of deciding whether 'an. [DCCXIII]' or 'an. [DCCXV]' should be read. The *Fasti Barberini* (*ib.*, p. 77) do not help.

and by Appian as an Illyrian people.¹ Florus calls the war 'Bellum Delmaticum' and to Horace the triumph is 'Delmaticus'.² What more simple, therefore, than to describe Pollio's province as Dalmatia and leave it at that? A brief examination will suffice to dispel that airy assumption. The terms 'Illyrian' and 'Dalmatian' have a very general connotation. They are commonly employed in a geographical or an ethnical sense and are very far from being equivalent to the official administrative designation 'Illyricum'—that is, the Roman province beyond the Upper and Middle Adriatic lying between north-eastern Italy and Macedonia. Tribes described as 'Dalmatian' or 'Illyrian' extended a long way to the south-east, in Albania and southern Serbia, well into the province of Macedonia; and ethnically speaking, the boundary between 'Illyrian' and 'Macedonian' ran in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Ochrida. One of these Illyrian tribes was the Parthini. The Parthini are to be localized in the hinterland of Dyrrachium, in the modern Albania, as a contemporary authority, Caesar, indicates, and historians and geographers unequivocally testify.³ The exact status and area of Illyricum between the death of Caesar and the year 27 B.C. is a problem beset with peculiar difficulties. But of one thing we can be certain—the region of Dyrrachium did not belong to Illyricum in 39 B.C., but to Macedonia. The Pact of Brundisium established Scodra, not far from the mouth of the Drin, about forty miles north of Dyrrachium, as the limit between the dominions of Antony and Octavian:⁴ and this line was perpetuated as the boundary between the provinces of Macedonia and Illyricum under the Empire. Antony's man was despatched to one of Antony's most important provinces—Macedonia. Pollio, then, was proconsul of Macedonia from late in 40 until October of 39 or 38. His predecessor in that command was L. Marcus Censorinus, who held a triumph 'ex Macedonia' on January 1st, 39.⁵

So far so good. We turn to the commentators on Virgil and the trouble begins. It would be tedious as well as unprofitable to cite all the scholiasts, to trace their connection and filiation, to assess their varying degrees of ineptitude. *Crimine ab uno disce omnes*. Servius, on *Ecl.* 4, 1, has the following explanation:

Asinius Pollio ductor Germanici exercitus, cum post captam Salonam, Dalmatiae civitatem, prius meruisset lauream, post etiam consulatum adeptus fuisset, eodem anno suscepit filium quem ex capta civitate Saloninum vocavit, cui nunc Vergilius genethliacum dicit. Quem constat natum risisse statim: quod parentibus omen est infelicitatis: nam ipsum puerum inter ipsa primordia perisse manifestum est.⁶

In the two matters where these divagations can be controlled, error is manifest. Pollio was not commander of the 'German army': he did not hold a triumph before obtaining the consulate. Is the context of superior quality? What are we to make of the capture of Salonae 'oppidum maritimum quod cives Romani fortissimi fidelissimique incolebant'?' The city of Salonae, where there was a *conventus civium*

¹ Dio 48, 41, 7; Appian, *Ill.* 2; cf. Strabo 7, 326.

² Florus 2, 25; Horace, *Odes* 2, 1, 16.

³ Caesar, *BC* 3, 11; 41; 42; Strabo 7, 326, τῆς γὰρ Ἐπιδάμου καὶ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας μέχρι τῶν Κεραυνίων ὑπεροικοῦσι Βυλλιοῖς τε καὶ Ταυλάντιοι καὶ Παρθῖνοι καὶ Βρύγιοι; Appian, *BC* 5, 75, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος Ἐπιδάμῳ παράκειν; Pliny, *NH* 3, 145, 'a Liso Macedonia provincia. gentes Partheni et a tergo eorum Dassaretæ'; Pomponius Mela, 2, 3, 55; cf. further Cicero, *In Pisonem* 96; Livy 29, 12; 33, 34 etc. There are certain difficult problems connected with the Parthini. Appian (*Ill.* 16) mentions Pertheñetae among the tribes conquered by Octavian in 35-33 B.C.—i.e., north-west of the Drin (cf. Pliny, *NH* 3, 143); and the existence of Parthini far in the

interior of the Balkans, in western Serbia, has been inferred from the dedication to Jupiter Parthinus at Užice, *CIL* III, 8353; cf. Ladek, Premerstein and Vulic, *Jahreshefte* IV (1901), *Beiblatt* 157 ff. For another inscription (to 'I. o. Par.'), cf. *ib.*, 159 = *CIL* III, 14613. None the less, in view of the evidence of Caesar, Strabo, Appian, Pliny, and Mela, the Parthini proper are clearly to be localized in the hinterland of Dyrrachium.

⁴ Appian, *BC* 5, 65; cf. Dio 48, 28, 4.

⁵ *CIL* I², p. 77.

⁶ Thilo-Hagen III, 1, 44. For the others, cf. Groag, *PIR*², s.v. C. Asinius Pollio; Carcopino, *o.c.*, 171, ff., and below, p. 44.

⁷ *Bell. Al.* 43; cf. Caesar, *BC* 3, 9.

Romanorum, had stood firm for Caesar in 48 B.C. against Pompeian generals and native Dalmatians: it was subsequently elevated to the rank of a colony, with the title of 'Colonia Julia Martia', by Octavian—if not by Caesar himself. Of the seizure of this important town by the Dalmatians and its recovery by Pollio there is no hint in the historians Appian and Dio, who followed quite good sources and who appear to be tolerably well informed about the historical transactions of these years. Moreover, in addition to Appian's *Civil Wars* there is Appian's *Illyrike*. Pollio's capture of Salonae is not impossible—but it would need better testimony than the scholiasts on Virgil and Horace.¹ The scholiasts, it will be recalled, are unaware of authentic pieces of history, like the campaign against the Parthini: in other respects they are contradictory as well as demonstrably erroneous.

But though Pollio did not capture Salonae, might he not have made that town his headquarters during the winter of 40/39, before the campaign of the ensuing year? This is Carcopino's suggestion.² Yet here is a difficulty not to be surmounted by all the goodwill and all the ingenious arguments in the world. Pollio's province was Macedonia, his adversaries the Parthini, in the hinterland of Dyrrachium. Salonae (nr. Split) on the coast of Dalmatia was not in his province, but in Illyricum: it lies two hundred and fifty miles away in a straight line across the sea, further by land and very difficult. To be sure, one is not entitled to postulate over-sharp divisions of province or competence. And Pollio may well have crossed the Drin and operated in Montenegro. Salonae is another question. To fit a capture of Salonae into a campaign against the Parthini, modern scholars have been driven to strange and questionable expedients. Ganter, in his detailed study of provincial administration in the triumviral period, treats the question at some length.³ He supposes that it was Pollio's task after the Pact of Brundisium to conduct from northern Italy to Macedonia an army of eleven legions that had stood under Salvidienus Rufus in Gallia Transalpina (for thus he justifies the 'exercitus Germanicus' of Servius); Pollio took the 'safest way', through Venetia, Istria, Dalmatia, Illyricum to Epirus; the direction of his march is indicated by Virgil, *Ecl.* 8, 6 f.; on the way he captured Salonae, but received no honour for a victory won in a province not his own, and that is why there is no mention of Salonae on the *Acta Triumphalia*. Against this reconstruction many objections could be urged; it will be enough to say that there is no evidence that Octavian bestowed an army of eleven legions upon an Antonian partisan, or likelihood that Pollio did not cross to his province of Macedonia from Brundisium. Another hypothesis betrays itself. Gardthausen followed almost verbally by Groebe, lets Pollio defeat the Parthini behind Dyrrachium, after which 'the pursuit of the enemy brought the victorious army of Asinius Pollio beyond Scodra, the boundary of the provinces of Antony, as far as Salona, the conquest of which seems to have been the culmination of the war'.⁴ A degree of mobility and endurance remarkable even in Balkan brigands!

It must be repeated that the distant city of Salonae was not in Pollio's province: and it is most unlikely that Octavian had entrusted to Pollio the control of one of his own provinces. It is a fact of fundamental importance for the interpretation of the history of these years and for the interpretation of the *Fourth Eclogue*, as Tarn has so forcibly argued, that Pollio was a partisan of Antony.⁵ It will be recalled that he was assailed by Octavian in scurrilous verses: he made no reply, for sufficient reasons.⁶ Pollio was a loyal friend and a man of independent, not to say recalcitrant,

¹ Apart from the Virgilian scholia, the only mention of a capture of Salonae is Porphyrio, on *Odes* 2, 1, 15 f., 'Salonas enim, Dalmatarum civitatem, Pollio cepit'.

² Carcopino, *o.c.*, 179.

³ *Die Provinzialverwaltung der Triumvirn*, Diss.

Strassburg (1892), 71 ff.

⁴ *Augustus u. seine Zeit* I, 1, 236; cf. Groebe, *P.W.*, s.v. C. Asinius Pollio, 1592.

⁵ *JRS* XXII (1932), 153; cf. H. Bennett *AJP* LI (1930), 325 ff.

⁶ Macrobius 2, 4, 21.

temper. After his triumph he retired from public life. Later, under the excuse of his earlier relations with Antony, Pollio refused to rally to the 'vaterländische Front' in the War of Actium.¹ It is to be regretted, but it can well be understood, that history has preserved no record of the private comments which these transactions elicited from a personality so ferociously antisuggestible.

Pollio cannot be brought to Salonae as a conqueror or even for peaceful hibernation in the winter of 40/39 B.C. Now the scholiasts are at one in deriving his son's name from the name of that city.² Here agreement ends. The simpler version, in the notes of Philargyrius, is that the boy was born there.³ The more pretentious version has variants. The Bern Scholia state that he was born while Pollio was 'proconsul of Dalmatia':⁴ according to Philargyrius in another place he was born at the time of the capture of Salonae.⁵ The fullest account is that of Servius (on *Ecl.* 4, 1, quoted above): the boy was born in the year of Pollio's capture of Salonae and was named in honour of that victory. Servius, be it noted, here makes the capture of Salonae precede Pollio's consulate.

It would be presumptuous to adjudicate between 'authorities' so nicely matched. The presence of Salonae in these precious variants is but an inference from the name of Pollio's son. Given the name 'Saloninus' and the fact that Pollio celebrated a 'Dalmatian' triumph, the scholiasts could not help themselves. Had those commentaries not survived, the great discovery of the capture of Salonae would perhaps have been reserved for the 'Scharfsinn' of some scholar of the nineteenth century.

The inference from the name of Saloninus is not without parallel in the melancholy annals of antiquarian ineptitude. The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* are most themselves when explaining names. Of the two rivals of Septimius Severus, Albinus, they say, was named from his fair complexion, Niger (though also a blonde, we are gravely assured) from the dusky hue of his neck. The emperor Ulpius Gordianus was descended from Trajan, while another emperor, (Claudius) Tacitus, was proud to number among his ancestors the historian Cornelius Tacitus. Now Gallienus had a son called Saloninus. The *Augustan History* leaps at the inevitable—'de huius nomine magna est ambiguitas. nam multi eum Gallienum, multi Saloninum historiae prodiderunt. et qui Saloninum, idcirco quod apud Salonas natus esset, cognominatum ferunt'.⁶ This statement may be disposed of at once—the son was presumably named after his mother, Cornelia Salonina.

Reputations more securely established than those of the Virgilian commentators might tremble at being seen in the company of these drab and discreditable hacks. The confrontation shows up both parties.⁷ Deeply rooted in these twin souls is the persuasion that people called Saloninus must derive their name from the Dalmatian city of Salonae. Yet 'Saloninus' is nothing more and nothing less than an impeccable derivation from the perfectly respectable gentile name 'Salonius'. 'Salonius', as the great authority Schulze has suggested, may originate from an Etruscan name.⁸

¹ Velleius 2, 86, 4.

² For an account of these variants, see Carcopino, *o.c.*, 171 ff.

³ Philargyrius on *Ecl.* 4, 4 (Thilo-Hagen III, 2, 74).

⁴ Schol. Bern. on *Ecl.* 4, praef. (Hagen, 775), 'Saloninus dictus a Salonis, civitate Dalmatiae; nam Pollio pro consule Dalmatiae constitutus progenit eum'.

⁵ Philargyrius on *Ecl.* 4, 1 (Thilo-Hagen III, 2, 72), 'a Salona civitate quam eodem tempore quo natus est pater eius expugnavit'.

⁶ *SHA, Gallieni* duo 19, 2 f.

⁷ Cf. the penetrating remarks of Alföldi, 'The numbering of the victories of the Emperor Gallienus and of the loyalty of his legions', *Num. Chron.*, series V, IX (1929), 265, 'This is an imitation of the story of Saloninus preserved in the commentary on Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*. . . This connexion may perhaps reveal other threads from which the *Historia Augusta* has been woven'.

⁸ *Zur Gesch. lateinischer Eigennamen*, 224. It is to be regretted that Schulze does not mention the name 'Saloninus.'

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Salonii are attested at Vicetia in the Transpadana; and it is interesting to find that A. Caecina Alienus, who came from that town, had a wife called Salonina.¹

The history of the name 'Saloninus' and of other names in '-inus' deserves study. Against the derivation from the city of Salonae, very powerful linguistic arguments can be adduced, as a reference to Wackernagel's paper on Latin 'Ethnika' will show.² Wackernagel has established the fact that Latin consistently avoids appending the suffix 'inus' to place-names the last consonant of which is intervocalic 'n'.³ Thus we never find forms like 'Cremoninus', 'Bononinus' etc. Wackernagel makes no mention of 'Saloninus': it is clear that he would have spurned the derivation from Salonae. That city, indeed, forms the adjective 'Salonitanus': 'Salonas' would also be acceptable, but it is very rare indeed.⁴

So much for the name. The same air of dubious authenticity hangs over the infant himself. The scholiasts are the earliest and only evidence for his existence.⁵ Is this the solitary and redeeming piece of independent evidence which they supply about the poem—or is it not rather an occasion for disquiet? According to Servius, the child smiled at birth and died almost at once—'quem constat natum risisse statim: quod parentibus omen est infelicitatis: nam ipsum puerum inter ipsa primordia perisse manifestum est'.⁶ How did he know? The identification of the child with a son of Pollio, rashly deduced from the poem, was made at an early date, to be sure. According to Servius, Asconius Pedianus was told by Asinius Gallus that he, Gallus, was the wonder-child.⁷ It is not recorded what the scholarly and alert Asconius thought of this bold assertion. Further, there is no indication either that Gallus mentioned or that Asconius handed down the name of Saloninus in this connection. How did it come to the scholiasts?

Alföldi has drawn attention to the parallel with Gallienus' son Saloninus, also said to have been born at Salonae.⁸ The reign of the emperor Gallienus witnessed much propaganda about the Golden Age, attested on the coins. To quote Mattingly, 'The coinage of Gallienus and his two sons, Valerian II and Saloninus, is full of the imagery of Virgil's Golden Age—the 'Jupiter Crescens', the young prince whose youth is like that of Jupiter in Crete, the gods who watch over his growth ('Dei Nutritores'), the holy generation that is fit to inherit the new time ('Pietas Saeculi'). It seems more than probable that the *Fourth Eclogue* was taken to be, what Servius calls it, a 'Genethliacon Salonini', or birthday piece for Saloninus, the little son of Pollio: it would naturally be applied then to the Saloninus of Gallienus.⁹

Alföldi and Mattingly argue very plausibly that Messianic propaganda about Gallienus' son derived support from the legend about Pollio's child. Would it be too

¹ ILS 968 (Vicetia: Salonia, the mother of a senator, probably a near relation of C. Saloni Matidius Patruinus); Tacitus, *Hist.* 2, 20; cf. 3, 8. For the name Saloninus, cf. also Martial, 6, 18, 1. It is perhaps worth mentioning that a soldier with the cognomen Saloninus (*CIL* III, 6300) was in fact of Dalmatian origin.

² J. Wackernagel, 'Zu den lateinischen Ethnika', *Archiv für lat. Lexikographie* XIV (1906), 1 ff. I am deeply grateful to Professor Fraenkel for this reference and for the consequent strengthening of my argument.

³ *Ib.*, 9, 'Bei Stadtnamen, die als letzten Konsonanten ein zwischen-vokalisches n, nn enthalten, werden -anus, -inus durchaus verschmäht, ausschliesslich -ensis oder auch -as angewandt'.

⁴ N. Vulić in *P.W.*, s.v. Salona, 2004, says 'Ethnikon: *Salonitanus*, daneben mehrfach:

Salonas'. I can discover two examples of 'Salonas' (*CIL* III, 8831; VI, 32895).

⁵ I must thank Mr. Barber for emphasizing this fact.

⁶ On *Ecl.* 4, 1 (Thilo-Hagen III, 1, 44), cf. above, p. 42.

⁷ On *Ecl.* 4, 1 (Thilo-Hagen III, 1, 46), 'quidam Saloninum Pollionis filium accipiunt, alii Asinium Gallum, fratrem Salonini, qui prius natus est Pollione consule designato. Asconius Pedianus a Gallo audivisse se refert hanc eclogam in honorem eius factam'.

⁸ *Num. Chron.* IX (1929), 265.

⁹ 'Virgil's Golden Age: Sixth Aeneid and Fourth Eclogue', *CR* XLVIII (1934), 164 f. The coins are, respectively, Mattingly and Sydenham, *R. Imp. Coinage* V, 1, p. 117, no. 13; p. 127, no. 135; p. 119, no. 32.

rash to suggest that the fiction followed the reverse direction, that the identification of the miraculous child as Pollio's Saloninus, and the opportune discovery of that phantom infant, originate in the time of Gallienus? It will be recalled that there is no earlier and independent evidence for the existence of the child. The name certainly occurred in the family of Pollio—Saloninus, son of Gallus and stepson of the emperor Tiberius, is a figure of history¹: Saloninus the son of Pollio is vouched for only by scholiasts. To be born and to smile at birth is the beginning—and the end—of Saloninus.

The infant perished 'intra ipsa primordia' says Servius. What did he mean by this? Before the 'dies lustricus', that is the ninth day from birth, on which occasion a male child usually received its *praenomen*?² Blümner³ states that the first eight days were called the 'primordia', citing Servius on *Ecl.* 4, 1 (not a conclusive reference). Servius may, however, have been thinking of the first forty days—at least Philargyrius (on *Ecl.* 4, 60) alleges that it is a fatal sign if a child smiles before the fortieth day. But it all matters very little, and it would perhaps be a frivolous antiquarianism further to enquire whether a child that died so young, 'intra ipsa primordia', had already been given a *cognomen*—for 'Saloninus' is not an inherited and inevitable cognomen.

One cannot deny outright the existence of Saloninus: and the name did occur in the family of Pollio, borne by his attested grandson. Fragments of recondite knowledge are sometimes preserved by the most miserable authorities. For example, the *Historia Augusta* derives the descent of the emperor Balbinus from the famous Cornelius Balbus.⁴ A gross absurdity; yet it refers to him as 'Balbus Cornelius Theophanes', thus displaying curious learning, namely the little-known and authentic fact that Balbus was once adopted by Pompey's friend Theophanes.

Historical and linguistic evidences deprive the child Saloninus of all relevance, and even cast doubt upon his existence. Granted that there was a Saloninus and it was still desired to derive his name from the city of Salonae, the only device available is so weak that to mention it is to dispose of it at once. It has been shown that Pollio himself can hardly have been at Salonae in 40/39, when his province was Macedonia, not Illyricum. When do the scholiasts place the birth of Saloninus? The only evidence is tainted evidence. Servius in one place says at the time of the capture of Salonae, which he places before the consulate of Pollio⁵; in another place, apparently, in the year of Pollio's consulate.⁶ Now the elder son Gallus might seem by his cognomen to commemorate Pollio's presence in Cisalpine Gaul in 41-40 B.C.;⁷ and Gallus is said by Servius to have been born in the year preceding Pollio's consulate.⁸ What of Saloninus? He *might* have been born at Salonae—his mother might have retired there for safety during the Perusine War (41-40 B.C.). Or Pollio himself might have visited that city between the spring and the autumn of 40, that is, between the end of the Perusine War and the Pact of Brundisium. Now Pollio is last heard of near Altinum, vainly defending Venetia against the armies of Octavian.⁹ By coming to terms with the master of the sea, Domitius Ahenobarbus, he was able to make his way to Antony and bring an ally with him. When cruising down the Adriatic, it is difficult to avoid putting in at Salonae. So Pollio might have visited Salonae after all—and named his son in memory of that town. If it were worth it, one could mention that Servius in one passage might appear to date Pollio's capture of Salonae to this time and occasion—'tunc Illyricum petebat,

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* 3, 75.

² Macrobius 1, 16, 36; cf., for an amusing incident, Suetonius, *Nero* 6. The cognomen was often given much later in life.

³ *Die v. Privataltertümer*, 303 f.

⁴ *SHA, Maximus et Balbinus* 7, 3.

⁵ On *Ecl.* 4, 1, quoted above, p. 42.

⁶ At least he says that Gallus was born when Pollio was consul designate, above, p. 45, n. 7.

⁷ Cf. Carcopino, *o.c.*, 169.

⁸ On *Ecl.* 4, 1, quoted above, p. 45, n. 7.

⁹ Velleius 2, 76, 2; see above, p. 40 f.

expugnaturus Salonas et inde ad Orientem ad Antonium profecturus.¹ The scholiasts were not aware that Pollio was on the eastern littoral of the Adriatic on two occasions—when on his way from northern Italy to join Antony before the Pact of Brundisium, and afterwards, in his province of Macedonia. This ignorance might be one of the reasons of their confusion.

But the scholiasts have done harm enough. Historical and linguistic evidence combines to banish, if not to abolish, the phantom child. *Ignorabimus*; it is only the scholiast that has an answer for everything. And by now it will be clear that those answers are erroneous, ignorant and contradictory. About the *Fourth Eclogue*, they reproduce the opinions that the poem was written to honour either Saloninus, Pollio himself, or Octavian.² Of such vital facts as the Pact of Brundisium, the rôle of Pollio in the negotiation of that agreement, the marriage of Antony and Octavia, the relation in time between Pollio's consulate and Pollio's triumph, the name of the tribe from which that triumph was won, of all this they have no inkling. It is evident that no reliance can be placed upon their unsupported testimony: and nothing is gained by mixing bad evidence with good.

As for the identity of the miraculous child, the above observations may be held to tell against the view that it was Saloninus. Against that opinion the weightiest objections will remain those expressed by Tarn: and the poem itself betrays no hint that the consul invoked is about to become a father. But that question is really alien to the purpose of this paper.

To resume: the main points of the above argument are as follows: (1) Macedonia was the province assigned to Pollio after the Pact of Brundisium when he laid down his consulate; (2) Salonae did not belong to the province of the proconsul of Macedonia; (3) the only occasion in 40 B.C. when Pollio himself can have visited that city is before, not after, the Pact of Brundisium; (4) on linguistic grounds the name 'Saloninus' probably has nothing to do with Salonae; (5) Pollio may never have had a son called Saloninus.

APPENDIX: ECL. 8, 6-8

Tu mihi seu magni superas iam saxa Timavi
sive oram Illyrici legis aequoris—en erit unquam
ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?

As this passage, an address to Pollio, the unnamed dedicant of the *Eighth Eclogue*, has already been referred to twice, a brief attempt at elucidation may not be out of place. Servius states that the words were addressed to Pollio 'qui tunc Illyricum petebat, oppugnaturus Salonas et inde ad Orientem ad Antonium profecturus.'³ Now Servius in another place (on *Ecl.* 4, 1, quoted above, p. 42) dates the capture of Salonae and Pollio's triumph before his consulate, as we have seen. A gross error in the matter of Pollio's triumph. More fortunate than Servius and his kin, a modern scholar can easily ascertain the true order of events and the occasion and date of Pollio's triumph, viz. October 25th of 39 or 38 B.C. It is therefore easy to understand these lines of Virgil: they were not addressed to Pollio when he was on his way from northern Italy to a fictitious capture of Salonae on the Dalmatian coast, as Servius and a modern scholar, Ganter, suppose. That supposition is contradicted by internal evidence—Virgil refers to Pollio's 'victorious

¹ Servius on *Ecl.* 8, 12 (Thilo-Hagen III, 1, 93).

² Philargyrius on *Ecl.* 4, 1 (Thilo-Hagen III, 2, 72 f.), 'Hanc eclogam scriptam esse aiunt in Asinium Pollionem, quidam in filium eius Saloninum, qui nomen accepit a Salona civitate, quam eodem tempore quo natus est pater eius expugnavit, sive in honorem Octaviani Augusti,

sive Asinii Pollionis'.

³ Servius on *Ecl.* 8, 12 (Thilo Hagen III, 1, 93). Yet Servius himself, commenting on line 6 of that poem, takes it to refer to Augustus! He paraphrases 'ubi ubi es O Auguste, sive Venetiae fluentia transcendis' etc.

laurels' (12 f.), 'hanc sine tempora circum | inter victricis hederam tibi serpere lauros'. The lines were therefore composed after Pollio's victory over the Parthini in Macedonia, either in anticipation or in celebration of the triumph which he earned. The poet, writing in vivid anticipation, imagines Pollio returning from Macedonia to northern Italy—he is already (the word 'iam' is decisive here) crossing the cliffs of the river Timavus at the head of the Adriatic, or is still sailing up the Dalmatian coast from Macedonia. This interpretation is confirmed by a later echo of the phrase, when Virgil describes Antenor's voyage up the Adriatic (*Aen.* 1, 244), 'fontem superare Timavi'.

Not that Pollio did, as a matter of fact, return to northern Italy from Macedonia. But that is immaterial. The lines were written in northern Italy—or rather, from the point of view of a man in northern Italy, in 39 or 38 B.C.

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SOME NOTES ON THE HOMERIC HYMNS.

DEMETER III ἔγνω (3rd person plural): To judge by Pindar, *P.* 4. 120, where the *o* of some of the MSS is required by metre, this is probably a mis-metagrammatism for Cobet's ἔγνω. Of this presently. [So also at *P.* 9. 79 (with Ahrens); and at *P.* 3. 17. ἡμεναίων, ἄλικες οἶα παρθένοι φιλέουσιν ἑταῖραι ἐσπερίας ὑποκουρίζεσθ' αἰδοαῖς, tautology, lack of secondary object, and the paraphrase ὅποια μάλιστα αἰ ἀμήλικες παρὰ ταῖς ἐαυτῶν φίλαις φιληδοῦσι ταῖς ἐσπεριναῖς ψδαῖς μετωρίζεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ παίζειν, suggest that Pindar intended παρθένῳ ἑταίρῳ, and that the correctly metagrammatized dative singular survived in some ancient texts.]

401 Demeter's prophecy of Persephone's future, ὁπότε δ' ἄνθεσι γαῖ' εὐώδεις ἡαρινοῖσι | παντοδαποῖς θάλλει, τότε ἀπὸ ζόφου ἡρόεντος | αὖτις ἄνει μέγα θαῦμα θεοῖς θνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις: Allen, Halliday and Sikes can quote no parallel to this use of the indicative before Lucian *Tox.* 46 (where really it refers to the past or the present, not, as here, to the future, ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ὅλος ὕβριςται ὁπότε σὺ τοιαῦτα ἔπαθες), and none at all for the *η* of ἡαρινοῖσι here and ἡαρος at 174. These two examples of *η*- in M (our only authority for most of this Hymn) may well be ancient. It is likely that the form with *ει*- was too well established as Epic for Alexandrian editors to admit *η*- unless they found it there already; and that would seem to mean that the *η* is a mis-metagrammatism of *Ε* (representing *ει*), as the *ω* of ἔγνω above may be of *Ο*. Similarly θάλλει looks like the slip of a metagrammatist who misinterpreted *ΕΙ* as *ει* instead of *η*. About 400 B.C. he would himself say ὁπότεν, not ὁπότε, if he used the subjunctive, and the occasional use of the past indicative instead of the optative of 'past indefinite frequency' as in Xen. *An.* 4. 7. 16 might also help to make him choose the indicative. We should read θάλλῃ (Voss), εἶαρος (Ruhnken), and εἰαρινοῖσι.

APOLLO 402 The God has jumped aboard δέμας δελφίνι εἰκώς, . . . τῶν δ' ὅστις κατὰ θινδὸν ἐπιφράσσαι το νοῆσαι | πάντοσ' ἀνασσεῖασκε, τίνασσε δὲ νῆϊα δοῦρα. | οἱ δ' ἀκέων ἐνὶ νηὶ καθήατο δειμαίνοντες: So the latest editors with *ρ* ('ἐπιφράσσαιο seu ἐπεφράσ(σ)ατο cet.'). Their note translates 'whoever thought to observe,' giving as parallels *Od.* 5. 183 ἐπεφράσθης ἀγορεύσαι, Callim. *Hec.* 34. 28 ἐπεφράσσαντο τελέσσαι. Even if the sense were tolerable, these are no parallels to the tautology. Read ἐπιφράσσαιτ' ἐπαφῆσαι (comparing for the rhythm l. 56), 'thought to lay hands on him.' The loss of *πα* after *τε* (for *Π* ~ *T* in a very early papyrus cf. Timoth. *Pers.* 129) gave the obviously incorrect φῆσαι, and νοῆσαι either is a straightforward correction of it, or derives from νοῆσαι, a gloss on ἐπιφράσσαιο as ὑπονοῆσαι ἢ ἐπινοῆσαι is on Herodotus' ἐπιφράσασθαι in Hesychius. The word ἐπαφάω otherwise comes first in Hecataeus or Aeschylus, and the *Apollo* has a good many first-uses of the vocabulary of Attic drama. My figures for the four great Hymns are: *Aphr.* one example in 97 ll., *Apollo* in 39, *Dem.* in 25, *Herm.* in 12½.

HERMES 118 ff. The God slaughtering the oxen for food, ἀμφοτέρας δ' ἐπὶ νῶτα χαμαὶ βάλε φυσιοώσας· | ἐκκρίνας (sic. M, cet. ἐγκλινων) δ' ἐκύλινδε δι' αἰῶνας τετορήσας, | ἔργῳ δ' ἔργον ὅπαζε ταμὸν κρέα πῖονα δημῷ· | ὥπτα δ' ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσι . . . | . . . | ῥινοὺς δ' ἐξετάνυσσε καταστυφέλῳ ἐνὶ πέτρῃ: Nothing satisfactory has been made of ἐγκλινων. The new editors, accepting it, say "Turned them round and rolled them over" in order to reach their αἰῶνες or backbones. These he pierced with his γλύφανον.' But this, besides leaving M's ἐκκρίνας unaccounted for, involves our disregarding the tense of τετορήσας, which must describe an action anterior to that of

ἐκύνει. Now it is not like Epic narrative to describe every part of the process of killing and eating in detail except to say how the *ρίνοι* of l. 124 were taken off the carcasses. M's ἐκκρίνας doubtless therefore conceals the true reading, and that must be, I think, ΕΚΡΙΝΩΝ, either for ἐκρινέων 'flaying' or for ἐκ ρινῶν 'out of their skins' — 'having pierced their backbones, he rolled them over, flaying them, or rolled them out of their skins.' For ἐκρινέω cf. Alciphron's metaphorical use, 3. 33, ἐκρινῆσαι τὴν καρδίαν, deriving this verb from ρινός 'hide,' and not, with L. and S., from ρίνη 'file.' For κυλινδεῖν ἐκ cf. *Il.* 6. 42 ἐκ δίφροιο . . . ἐξεκλύσθη. I prefer the prepositional phrase; but Alciphron's authority seems to have preferred the participle, and the corruptions point to an old tradition which took the three ambiguous syllables as a single word. For the corruption ἐγκλίνων (or ἐνκλίνων, as it might also be written) it is hardly necessary to point out that ρ and λ are often confused; and Bast vouches for κ ~ ν. The important thing about this reading is its preservation of -ων. The *Hermes* has more words unique before the Alexandrian period than any other of the four great Hymns (my figures are: *Aphr.* one example in 13 ll., *Ap.* in 11, *Dem.* in 9, *Herm.* in 6). And this should be remembered below.

325 The day when *Hermes* was arraigned before Zeus, εὐμυλίη (sic M, cet. εὐμυλή) δ' ἔχ' Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον, ἀθάνατοι δὲ | ἀφθιτοὶ ἡγερέθοντο, κτλ.: The new editors' οὐμυλίη is not convincing. In any case, one would think, it ought to be aspirated; and οὐμυλίαν ἔχειν is no parallel. The other suggestions they make or record seem to me no better, with one exception, Mr. Sikes' εὐκηλίη (*Hesychius*, ἡσυχία), which I hit on independently. For κ ~ μ in medieval scripts see Bast; but if M's independence is ancient¹ we need a parallel from the papyri (HΔ is corrected to KA at Bacch. 13. 5, but this does not take us very far). For the frequency of unique words in this Hymn see above.

346 *Hermes*' disguised footprints when driving off the cattle, αὐτὸς δ' οὗτος ὁδ' ἐκτός (sic MSS) ἀμήχανος οὐτ' ἄρα ποσσὶν | οὐτ' ἄρα χερσὶν ἔβαινε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον: Prodelision in Epic seems to have only the slender support of *Il.* i. 277 μήτε σὺ, Πηλεΐδῃ, 'θελ' ἐριζέμεναι βασιλῆϊ (so Aristarchus); but it is found (with ἐπί) as early as *Sappho* 2. 15 and *Anacreon* 23 (Bgg.), *Homer's* οὐνεκα must be for οὐ ἐνεκα, and the *Hermes* is thought to be the latest of the four great Hymns. I suggest ὁδοῦ 'κτός 'outside the path,' which in the old alphabet would be written ΗΟΔΟΚΤΟΣ, or possibly ΗΟΔΕΚΤΟΣ, to distinguish it from ὁδοῦ ἐκτός with Epic correction. Cf. οἰμωξεῖσθαι and the like in *Aristophanes*. Our ὁδ' ἐκτός is either a faithful copy of the latter—rightly understood as ὁδοῦ ἐκτός—or a would-be emendation of ὁδοκτος—puzzling in Epic—made despite the tautology with οὗτος.

382 *Hermes*' defence before Zeus, καὶ σὲ φιλῶ καὶ τοῦτον ὀπίζομαι. οἶσθα γὰρ αὐτὸς | ὥς οὐκ αἰτίος εἰμι. μέγαν δ' ἐπιδαίομαι (M ἐπιδεύομαι, dai in ras. L², ἐπιδέομαι Π') ὄρκον, κτλ.: Taking the ἐπιδώμεθα of *Il.* 22. 254 (ἀλλ' ἄγε δεῦρο θεοὺς ἐπιδώμεθα. τοὶ γὰρ ἄριστοι μάρτυροὶ ἔσσονται καὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἁρμονιάων) as equivalent to ἐπιδώμεθα, can we read ἐπιδείομαι 'I bind myself by,' comparing such metrical lengthenings as μαχεύμενος in *Homer*? If so, M's ἐπιδείομαι may be explained as an early emendation made on the wrong assumption that δέω 'to bind' has digamma like δέω 'to be wanting.' The reading ἐπιδείομαι would belong to a later time when αι and ε had come to be confused, as, e.g., in the S of *Demosthenes*, which dates from about A.D. 900. ἐπιδείομαι, which occurs certainly in one, and by implication in both, of the non-M groups, may well go back to the mis-metagrammatism of ΕΠΙΔΕΟΜΑΙ (representing ἐπιδείομαι) of which M's ἐπιδείομαι is an emendation.

509 *Hermes* gives his lyre to Apollo, σήματ' ἐπεὶ κίθαριν μὲν Ἐκηβόλῳ ἐγγυάλισεν | ἡμερτήν, δεδαῶς δ' ἐπ' ὠαλέων κισθάρειν: If with the new editors we accept this punctuation of *Ludwich's*, we must surely read δεδαῶς δ' ὁ γ' (sc. Apollo).

¹ κρισ(σ)αγῶν for Κρισ(σ)αίων (so Cas.) at Apoll. ence' (Allen); Γ~| occurs e.g. at Bacch. 12. 95. 446 is not necessarily 'a case of Romaic influ-

APHRODITE V 9 οὐ γάρ οἱ εὐαδεν: Unlikely in so old a Hymn: we should either read with Matthiae οὐ γάρ οἱ ἄδεν with both digammas making position, or, keeping εὐαδεν, omit γάρ comparing for the hiatus *Od.* 5. 270 τῶν οἱ ἐξ ἐγένοντο. The former is supported by the fact that for ἄδον immediately below we find in some MSS ἄδεν (or ἄδεν), a mistake which is more likely to have occurred if their archetype read ἄδεν, not εὐαδεν, in the upper line. Gemoll's reason for not accepting Matthiae's emendation, that the writer had no knowledge of the 'living digamma,' is not in point. There are many traditional archaisms in English poetry, e.g. *ta'en*, which poets use without knowing the historical reason why.

18 καὶ γὰρ τῇ ('Αρτέμιδι) ἄδε τόξα καὶ οὔρεσι θήρας ἐναίρειν | φόρμιγγές τε χοροὶ τε διαπρύσιοι τ' ὀλολυγαὶ | ἄλσέα τε σκίοντα δικαίων τε πόλεις ἀνδρῶν (sic M; cet. πόλεις seu πόνος, Γ marg. et ed. pr. πτόλεις): It is easy to read δικαίων τε πτόλεις ἀνδρῶν, but the singular is more than 'auffällig' (Gemoll); it is intolerable. Read δικαιοσπόλεις τ' ἀνθρωποι, comparing Pind. *P.* 8. 22 and our old friend in the *Acharnians*. We must of course take the epithet as general, as it is in χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων (l. 108).

67 ὕψι μετὰ νέφεσι ῥίμφα πρήσσοντα κέλευθον (sic M; cet. νεφέσσι θοῶς); Allen, Halliday and Sikes are right to prefer M's ῥίμφα, but if they had not changed νέφεσι to νέφεσιν they would have given a reading which would account for the ancient correction νεφέσσι θοῶς; for the lengthening of the iota before ῥίμφα, despite *Il.* 13. 515—the only relevant epic passage¹—is historically correct (see Boisacq), but might well have been rare enough to invite correction.

280 The non-epic form νιν is unique here both for this Hymn and for the whole collection: Hermann rightly read μιν. In this Hymn alone μιν occurs six times. M's correction νῦν, with which we may compare the same phrase αὐτίκα νῦν at l. 151 above, *Il.* 6. 308, 23. 552, and five examples in the *Odyssey*, but which could hardly refer to so distant a future, shows that the difficulty was felt, and suggests that the reading νιν though false is ancient. Like στοναχῆσεται for στόμα κείσεται (Martin) at 252, it seems to supply an early instance of M ~ N (cf. also Dion. vii. 43). M is lost after N at *Bacch.* ix. 10 (written c. B.C. 50);² and that Aristarchus had to prove that Homer used only μιν shows that some instances of νιν had crept into the pre-Alexandrine Homeric texts.

The suggestion that mis-metagrammatism accounts for certain readings of M is reinforced by some at least of the following passages, in the first of which it gives graphical support to Voss's certain emendation:

DEMETER 494 αὐτὴ καὶ κούρη περικαλλῆς Περσεφόνεια | πρόφρονες ἀντ' ὥδης βίοντον θυμῆρε' ὅ παξε: Voss rightly read ὁπάξεν, infinitive as imperative, because πρόφρονες makes the singular intolerable. In the old alphabet the infinitive would be written OPAZEN, which, mis-metagrammatized to οπαξεν, may have been taken as an erroneous imperfect and corrected, in spite of πρόφρονες, to the imperative singular.³

APOLLO 306 ff. Τυφάονα . . . | ὅν ποτ' ἄρ' Ἥρη ἔτικτε χολωσαμένη Διὶ πατρί, | ἣ νεκ' ἄρα (sic M; cet. εἴτ' ἄρα δὴ) Κρονίδης ἐρικυδέα γείνατ' Ἀθήνην | ἐκ κορυφῆς: It is easy to read ἡνίκ', which occurs once in Homer (*Od.* 22. 198); but why did the ancient editor to whom the other MSS seem to go back, if he was content with 'when,' reject this to us so obvious emendation? M's ἡνεκ' is probably a mis-metagrammatism of HENEK standing for εἵνεκα in the sense of 'because,' as ἔνεκα at *Aphr.* V. 199. 'Because' is clearly better here than 'when.' (Hollander read οὔνεκ'.)

Other possible cases of εἰ → η are these: APOLLO 9 ἦσεν M for εἶπεν (cet.), from HESEN; HERMES 11 μῆς M (suprascr. εἰς) for μείς (cet.), from MEΣ; 151 ἡλυμένος M

¹ And there it is in *arisi*, οὐκέτι ῥίμφα.

² Milne C.R. 1922. 66.

³ Without πρόφρονες the singular might per-

haps just stand, on the supposition that the poet was thinking more of αὐτῇ and less of κούρη, as if he had written σὺν κούρη.

for εἰλυμένος (cet.), from ΕΛΥΜΕΝΟΣ; APHRODITE VI 12 κοσμήσθην M for κοσμευθην (sic cet. seu κοσμίσθην), from ΚΟΣΜΕΣΘΕΝ. The reverse of this, η → ει, seems to be found at HERMES 404, εἶρετο M for ἦρετο (cet.), from ΕΡΕΤΟ; and η → ει at HERMES 289, ἰαύσεις M for ἰαύσης (sic sive ἰαύης cet.), from ΙΑΥΣΕΙΣ. DEMETER 452 εἰστήκει for ἐστήκει may be the mis-metagrammatism of an Athenian who himself said εἰστήκει and so misread ΗΕΣΤΕΚΕ.

M has a good many examples of ω → ο, of which at least two may have originated as mis-metagrammatisms: APOLLO 19 πάντοσσ' for πάντως (sic cet. seu πάντων), and 207 πάντοσ' for πάντως (cet.). Both these might have come from ΠΑΝΤΟΣ meant as πάντως. At DIONYSUS I 19 M's ἐπιλαθόμενοι for -ψ is perhaps more likely to have arisen from ἀρχόμενοι immediately above; cf. on Aphr. V 9 *supra*.

J. M. EDMONDS.

CAMBRIDGE.

κοσμεωθην
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→ εἰ at
METER 452
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s perhaps
V 9 *supra*.
MONDS.

MISCELLANEA.

Athenaeus *Dipnosophistae* 426 f (Kaibel I, 28)

Ἑρμῖππος Θεοῖς·
ἔπειθ' ὅταν πινώμεθ' ἢ διψώμεθα,
εὐχόμεθα πρὸς τοῦτ' οἶνος ωκαιραςγενου
οὐκ ἄστων καὶ πηλουγῶ φέρω παίζων ἅμα,
καυθεῖς γεγένηται τοῦτο πέντε καὶ δύο.

Bergh proposed οἶνος, ὦ κέρας, γένου and κὰς τοῦ καπήλου ἔγω for οὐκ ἄστων καὶ πηλουγῶ.

Kock in his C.A.F., I, 231 says: mihi neutiquam constat neque quid hic sit εὐχεσθαι πρὸς τι, necque cur εἰς τοῦ καπήλου dicatur pro εἰς καπήλου, neque quid sit παίζων, neque denique quis cui precetur.

I agree with Kock that we must find something appropriate to go with παίζων, and this is concealed in οὐκ ἄστων καὶ πηλουγῶ: there must be a reference to some game or other. They pray to the κέρας to become wine, and this clears away Kock's difficulty. The game referred to is the ἀσκός, πέλεκυς, about which Jebb was still in the dark in his edition of Theophrastus' *Characters* (pp. 44, 45). Thumb, in his article *On the Value of Modern Greek for the Study of Ancient Greek, Classical Quarterly*, 1914, cleared this up. When the κέρας is thrown up into the air, it is light like the ἀσκός; when it comes down, it is filled with wine and heavy like the πέλεκυς.

Read therefore:

ἀσκόν τε καὶ πέλεκυν φέρω παίζων ἅμα.

The last line refers to the mixing of two parts of wine with five of water: the wine, that is one, becomes five and two:

καὶ αὖ τὸ εἰς γεγένηται τοῦτο· πέντε καὶ δύο.

The passage then runs:

ἔπειθ' ὅταν πινώμεθ' ἢ διψώμεθα,
εὐχόμεθα πρὸς τοῦτ'· οἶνος, ὦ κέρας, γένου,
ἀσκόν τε καὶ πέλεκυν φέρω παίζων ἅμα,
καὶ αὖ τὸ εἰς γεγένηται τοῦτο· πέντε καὶ δύο.

Contracted, καὶ αὖ becomes καῦ and τὸ εἰς θ' εἰς, and this gives καυθεῖς of A.

Archilochus f. 100 (Diehl)

ἔμπλην ἐμεῦ τε καὶ ἐφόλον.

For ἐφόλον read ἐφόδον.

ἔφοδος is the soldier whose duty it is to visit the sentries and see that proper watch is kept.

Archilochus, the poet-warrior, and the night patrol are the only two who are up and about—and perhaps carousing.

Hippolytus: Refutatio omnium haeresium (Wendland, *Elenchos* I, 1): ὃν καὶ πάλαι μετρίως τὰ δόγματα ἐξεθέμεθα, οὐ κατὰ λεπτὸν ἐπιδείξαντες, ἀλλ' ἀδρομερῶς ἐλέγξαντες, ἥ μὴ ἂν ἄξιον ἡγησάμενοι τὰ ἄρρητα αὐτῶν εἰς φῶς ἄγειν κ.τ.λ.

We must restore ἀνάξιον and delete μὴ, which crept into the text when ἀνάξιον was wrongly divided into ἂν and ἄξιον.

Ibid. V, 10, 2, p. 103, vv. 1-3 Wendland:

Τριτάτη ψυχὴ δ' ἔλαβεν ἐργαζομένην νόμον,
διὰ τοῦτο ἔλαφον μορφὴν περικειμένη
κοπιῶ θανάτῳ μελέτημα κρατουμένη.

We all agree that Hippolytus rightly styles these ἐπιχειρήματα as φλύαρα καὶ μανιώδη. The anapaestic metre shows that ἔλαβεν must be wrong. For νόμον I propose νομόν and restore the first line:

τριτάτη ψυχὴ δὲ λαβεῖν ἐργαζομένη νομόν.
And the third, the soul, toiling to obtain food.

For ἔλαφον we have to restore ἐλάφον. The sense is obscure—but so is the whole hymn.

The νομός, as is shown by μελέτημα, is evidently a form of philosophy, and Wendland refers to Plato *Phaedo* 67D-E.

In this hymn we need not press too much the absence of a finite verb with ἐργαζομένη. It is the periphrastic use of the participle.

The *Letters of St. Basil*, Vol. I, Letter I, Deferrari:

δοκῶ γάρ μοι, εἰ μὴ ὥσπερ τι θρέμμα θαλλῶ προδεικνυμένῳ ἐπόμενος ἀπηγόρευσα, ἐπέκεινα ἂν σε καὶ Νύσσης τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐλθεῖν ἀγόμενον καί, εἴ τι ἔσχατον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης χωρίον, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιπλανηθῆναι.

Deferrari translates: For if I had not grown weary of following you as a lamb follows the shepherd's staff held out before it, I really think that you would have been driven on and on even beyond Indian Nyssa, or, if there is an uttermost spot of our world, that you would have wandered even there.

Deferrari seems to miss the point. This is a clear reference to Plato, *Phaedrus* 230D: ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰ πεινῶντα θρέμματα θαλλῶν ἢ τινα καρπὸν προσείοντες ἀγούσιν, σὺν ἐμοὶ λόγους οὕτω προτείνων ἐν βιβλίῳ τὴν τε Ἀττικὴν φαίνῃ περιάξειν ἅπασαν καὶ ὅποι ἂν ἄλλοσε βούλῃ.

The hungry animals are lured on by dangling a bough or some fruit or other before them. The θαλλός is not the shepherd's staff, as rendered by Deferrari. St. Basil uses προδεικνύω for Plato's προσείω. Did he have an eye on Lucian, *Hermotimus*, p. 810, where we find προδεικνύω? The passage runs: εἰ δὲ μὴ, εὖ ἴσθι ὡς οὐδὲν κωλύσει σε τῆς ῥινὸς ἔλκεσθαι ὑφ' ἐκάστων ἢ θαλλῶ προδειχθέντι ἀκολουθεῖν ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα. . . But as Lucian uses πρόβατα for Plato's θρέμματα, we must conclude that St. Basil had first-hand knowledge of the *Phaedrus* passage.

H. G. VILJOEN.

THE UNIVERSITY, PRETORIA.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE TEXT OF SENECA'S *DE BENEFICIIS*.

THESE suggestions for the betterment and elucidation of the text of the *De Beneficiis* are additional to those already published in the *Classical Quarterly* in January, 1934. They are based on a conviction much deepened since that time that Buck¹ is right when he says: N (i.e. codex Nazarianus) allein, und zwar ohne seine Uebersetzungen von späteren Händen, darf die Grundlage des Textes von *de beneficiis* bilden. Préchac², the latest critical editor in this field, substantially confirms Buck's sweeping conclusion by an independent survey of the evidence. The readings designated in the Teubner text³ as N² and N³ are themselves conjectures, not readings drawn from independent sources of testimony, and as conjectures they must be judged. Gertz⁴ had long before discerned the truth even if he seemed somewhat cavalier in his attitude toward other manuscripts than N.

The thesis of Jakob Buck to which reference has been made deserves the careful consideration of everyone interested in constituting the text of the *De Beneficiis*. The last portion, pp. 42-83, in which he discusses scores of difficult passages, is always informing, and has the general advantage of being very conservative as compared, for example, with Préchac's treatment. Those who have worked in the field of the Senecan text are familiar with the often recurring temptation to rewrite Seneca⁵, and this temptation Buck has steadily avoided.

The third volume of the Loeb Library's *Moral Essays of Seneca* containing Professor J. W. Basore's translation of the *De Beneficiis* has also been available for consultation during the revision of this paper, having appeared in October, 1935.

The references in brackets after the usual passage notation are to the page and line in Hosius' second edition.

1, 11, 5 (16: 11): hic erit honor et processus ad altiora tendentium; nec enim utilius quicquam est quam sibi utilem fieri.

Préchac comments on the *sibi* of N "subobscure", in which I concur. He writes *cui*; my own suggestion is *ibi*, i.e. "nothing is more useful than to make one's self useful in that field," namely, the attaining of public office. This is a very Roman thought. For this fairly common use of *ibi*, see Thes. VII. col. 146, C, and note the particularly apt parallel in *De Beneficiis* 3, 38, 3: quid eo fortunatius sene, qui omnibus ubique praedicabit a filio se suo beneficiis victum? quid autem est felicius quam *ibi* cedere? where *ibi* refers to the whole content of the preceding sentence. Its idiomatic use in this sense quite obviates any clash with the *hic . . . hic* of the passage.

1, 14, 1 (19: 3): quod voles gratum esse, rarum effice: quis patitur sibi imputari *volgaria*?

Volgaria was inserted by the early editors. Préchac reads *qui <vi> s* for *quis*, followed by Basore, but, as the early editors saw, the question form is more accommodated to Seneca's dramatic style. This permits the suggestion *quis <non>*.

¹ J. Buck: *Seneca de Beneficiis und de Clementia in der Uebersetzung* (Tübingen: 1908), p. 34.

² F. Préchac: *Sénèque des Bienfaits* (Paris: 1927, two vols.), intr. pp. li-lij; also his *Sénèque de la Clémence* (Paris: 1921), intr. p. xxxvii.

³ C. Hosius: *Seneca de Beneficiis, de Clementia*, 2nd edition (Berlin: 1914).

⁴ M. Cl. Gertz: *Seneca de Beneficiis et de Clementia* (Berlin: 1876), intr. p. vi.

⁵ Hosius in app. crit. ad Dial. 1, 4, 12, remarks feelingly, after reporting several proposals to juggle the text, 'ego vereor ne ita ipsum Senecam corrigamus.'

2, 1, 2 (21: 18): multi autem sunt, quos liberales facit frontis infirmitas.

The actual text of N as read by Buck (op. cit. p. 50) is quos liberalis facit fortes infirmitas. *Frontis* is the vulgate reading (cf. Dial. 9, 6, 2), but Gertz doubted its soundness. Buck proposes quos, Liberalis, facit fortes infirmitas (not *mi* Liberalis as reported by Hosius and Préchac), making the remark apply to the suitors whose need (*infirmitas*) lends them courage to press their claims. But, apart from the circumstance that there would seem to be no good reason for repeating the vocative *Liberalis* so soon after its use to introduce Book II less than twenty lines above, to my way of thinking *infirmitas* looks back to *male retinuit* of the preceding sentence, and is therefore a quality of the donor, just as *fortes* looks back to *ducentem*, and indicates therefore a quality of the suitor. Read: quos liberales facit < *in* > fortes infirmitas, i.e. "whom weakness towards the persistent makes liberal," or, if we regard the phrases as interlocked, "whom weakness makes liberal toward the persistent."

2, 5, 3 (24: 27): est enim etiam bonarum rerum sollicita expectatio.

N however shows *sollicitis*, and *sollicita*, due to N², is simply a conjecture of the most banal order. Read *sollicitis* < *sima* >, and for the superlative cf. Dial. 10, 16, 1. In view of *acerbissima* and *maxima* preceding when the reference is to the anticipation of evils, *sollicitissima* is surely in order when the transition is effected to the anticipation of blessings or benefits.

2, 11, 3 (28: 20): quid opus est eloqui, quid alienum occupare officium? est, qui istud facere honestius possit, quo narrante et hoc laudabitur, quod ipse non narras.

I suspect a haplography after *narrante* and suggest: *quo narrante* < *in te* > etc.; "if he tells the story, this also will be made a point for praise *in you*, that you don't tell it yourself."

2, 13, 1 (30: 10): quoque altius te sublevasti. hoc depressior es ostendisque tibi non datum agnoscere ista bona, quibus tantum inflaris.

N reads *tibi non agnoscere* and the *datum* in Hosius' text is a conjecture by Haase; it should certainly be italicized as in Haase's own text. Possibly we should read: *tibi non ad* < *apertum* > *agnoscere*, with *adapertum* meaning "revealed". *Adaperio* is a fairly common verb with Seneca in both literal and metaphorical senses (Thesaurus, Vol. I, cols. 568 and 569), and the dropping of a whole word like *apertum* is quite characteristic of N.

2, 17, 4 (34: 18 sqq.): si cum exercitato . . . occurremus.

I do not think that Gertz's < *mittemus* > following *manum* is necessary, but the very slight change from N's *remisse* to *remissae* is almost postulated by *occurremus* and also by the application made of the figure in the rest of the chapter. Punctuate thus: si cum exercitato et docto negotium est, audacius pilam mittemus (utcumque enim . . . repercutiet), si cum tirone et indocto, non tam rigide nec tam excusse sed languidius; et in ipsam eius derigentes manum remissae occurremus. Two shots are described in that part of the sentence from si cum tirone on, the "serve" which is to be gentle and not an "ace", and the first return by the "server" which is not to be placed out of the opponent's reach, as might easily be done by the superior player, but played right into his hands.

2, 18, 2 (35: 28): hac duce (sc. ratione) per totam vitam eundum est, minima maxime ex huius consilio gerenda; quomodo haec suaserit, dandum.

At the beginning of the chapter the statement is definitely made that the following discussion will be quomodo se gerere homines in *accipiendis* beneficiis debeant.

Then again at the end of paragraph 2 we read: haec (sc. ratio) autem hoc primum censebit non ab omnibus accipiendum. The *dandum* seems under the circumstances unreasonable; it does not need to be mentioned at all, and when mentioned to the exclusion of *accipiendum* it constitutes an anomaly. Hence, while Gertz's *dandum* est <et accipiendum> improves the text, I venture to suggest that *dandum* really represents a "correction" of a *dendum* which is in turn a fractional part of <ce>*dendum*. To read <ce>*dendum* is to complete rationally the drift not only of the sentence but of the entire chapter, to eliminate the strange *dandum*, and to explain on rational grounds where *dandum* originated. Paleographically I prefer <ce>*dendum* to Kronenberg's *agendum* (*Classical Quarterly*, Vol I, 284).

2, 29, 6 (45: 15): magna accepimus, maiora non cepimus.

Thus N, but N² *coepimus* and N³ *cupiamus*; these early emending hands found the passage difficult. Hosius has his doubts: 'an *cupimus*?' Préchac's translation does not face the difficulty, nor that of the Richard brothers in the *Classiques Garnier*, nor Basore's ('for more we had no room'). The *textus receptus* says plainly 'great things we have received, greater we did not take,' whatever that means. Read: maiora n̄c (i.e. nunc) cupimus, and for the sentiment compare the first three sections of this same chapter of which maiora nunc cupimus might fairly be considered a summary presentation. Cf. also 2, 27, 3: et maiora cupimus quo maiora venerunt and also 3, 3, 2: uti mortalibus mos est ex magnis maiora cupiendi.

2, 34, 3 (48: 23): fortitudo est virtus etc.

After having once again carefully traversed what has been said on this much disputed passage I am still satisfied that my suggestion *fortitudo est <peritia>* pericula is not without merit, but I am now convinced that Madvig was wrong in changing *iusta* to *iuste*, and I reject that emendation. *Pericula iusta* are the genuine perils of life which must be faced by every true man; they are no doubt contrasted in thought, if not verbally, with the factitious *pericula* of the gladiator. Cf. Buck, op. cit, p. 54.

3, 12, 3 (59: 19 sqq.): praeterea creditorem mihi ipse eligo, beneficium saepe ab eo accipio, a quo nolo, et aliquando ignorans obligor; quid facies? ingratum vocabis eum, cui beneficium inscio et, si scisset, non accepturo impositum est? non vocabis eum, qui utcumque acceptum non reddidit.

In the above passage *cui* is missing in N; otherwise the ms. is exactly represented. Gertz's handling of the passage must stand as a warning of the danger of attempting to rewrite an author, quite unnecessarily too. Hosius' punctuation is faulty in making the last sentence end with a period; it should have an interrogation sign, and so all recent editions. But coincidentally with that change should come the alteration of the interrogation sign after *impositum est* to a colon or semi-colon, and Hosius himself exhibits the proper form in ch. 17, 2 below: an tu infelicem vocas, qui caruit acie, cuius aures morbus obstruxit, non vocas miserum eum qui sensum beneficiorum amisit? where the whole form of hypothesis is identical with that of the passage under discussion. I should myself prefer a colon or semi-colon after *obstruxit*, but that is of less importance than ejecting the interrogation mark in such connections.

3, 14, 1 (60: 14): deinde pauciora erunt beneficia, sed veriora, etc.

The distribution of parts between the objector and Seneca in these chapters has occasioned some difference of opinion, as may be seen by examining Haase's text at this point, followed by Stewart in his Bohn's Library translation, and Kronenberg's critical note in the *Classical Quarterly*, Vol. I, 284.

The objector claims that the existing state of affairs, namely, the lack of legal protection for benefits, means that in consequence fewer benefits are given *than would otherwise have been the case* (60: lines 3-4). Seneca replies that to bring benefits under the protection of law, that is, to adopt the objector's idea, will mean a reduction in the number of benefits *already being given under existing circumstances* because (a) men will hesitate to receive them, (b) givers will be slower to bestow them (60: lines 5-13).

The objector then *shifts his ground* in view of Seneca's arguments and says (60: lines 14-15): 'My next point (*deinde*) is that they will be fewer, as you seem to make out, but they will be more genuine; now what harm is there in the rashness of benefit-giving being put under restraint?' This *must* belong to the objector because the tense *erunt* looks to a state of affairs prevailing *when benefits shall have been brought under law*: cf. *futuros* and *erimus* of the preceding chapter. Seneca replies: '(None at all), for this is the very aim pursued by those who have not ordained any statute for the matter' (60: lines 15-17).

It is unfortunate and careless that *deinde* is used in ch. 13, 2 for marking the second item in Seneca's line of reasoning rebutting the objector's first position, and also for marking the objector's second point in chief, but these things happen, and it then becomes the editor's duty to assign the parts on the basis of the logic of the passage. Haase's text in my judgment conforms to that requirement.

3, 29. 4 (72: 16): *adspice Rhenum . . . in processu paraverunt.*

Perhaps: *quo <aes>timentur, quo nominentur.* Cf. *aestimes* preceding. I am not aware of special references to these streams inspiring *fear* (*timentur*). Once *<aes>* was lost, *timentur* would appear to be indicative and *nominentur* would be adjusted to correspond.

4, 12, 3 (91: 17 sqq.): *nemo Tusculanum aut Tiburtinum paraturus salubritatis causa et aestivi secessus, quoto anno empturus sit, disputat; cui e re sit, tuendum est.*

N has *cum erit*, for which Hosius as above *cui e re sit*; N³ suggests *cum emerit*, and thus Haase. The troublesome character of the passage may be gauged by reading Gertz's long note with its very unsatisfactory conclusion. Préchac retains the N reading *tel quel*, translating it 's'en présente-t-il un, il ne faut pas le laisser échapper.'

A careful study of the passage and more particularly of its application to what follows convinces me that what Seneca has in mind is (1) the nature of the motive prompting you to confer a benefit, (2) the way in which you follow up a benefit once given (see especially chapter 15). With regard to (1) it is your pleasure in conferring the benefit which is the only genuine motive, not any sort of calculation of profit; just so you buy the estate at Tusculum or Tibur not from a commercial point of view but for health and privacy. With regard to (2), once we have conferred a benefit on a person, we find ourselves in the situation of wanting to confer further benefits in the same quarter in order to maintain the status created by our first generosity; *causa est iterum dandi beneficii semel dedisse* (ch. 15, 2). The real estate parallel to this would obviously be that when you have bought a property, more because it appealed to your aesthetic sensibilities than to your business judgment, you have become involved and are now under the obligation of keeping the thing up. The property is very possibly not a source of profit but a continuous drain on your resources, like the benefit once entered on and never ended. It seems to me unquestionable therefore that N³ is right with *cum emerit*; 'when he buys, he must look after it.' The various commentators, translators, and emenders have missed the point through a failure to observe the way in which Seneca develops this idea in the rest of chapter 12 and continuously through 13, 14, and 15. *Cum emerit, tuendum est* is not worked out until chapter 15 is reached.

The reading of N³ attains the meaning which Basore sees to be necessary without however involving an explanation as difficult as his, viz. to supply *emptum* with *erit* (N) and understand *praedium* as subject. This takes a good deal of divination.

5, 19, 1 (136: 27): qui domum meam, quominus ruat, fulcit, praestat mihi, ipsa enim domus sine sensu est; debitorem me habet, quia nullum habet.

Préchac and the Richards translate quia nullum habet by puisqu'il n'y en a pas d'autre, which would certainly require an *<alium>* to supplement *nullum*. Stewart and Basore assume that *domus* is the subject of the second *habet* and that *sensum* (inferred from *sine sensu*) is its object, and make this appear plausible by translating quia nullum habet *before* debitorem me habet. But this will not do; obviously the order of the Latin sentence throws quia nullum habet with debitorem me habet, not with ipsa enim domus sine sensu est, and Johann Mueller's *non illam* for *nullum* recognizes this point. Read however quia *<in ea>* nullum habet; 'he has me as his debtor because in it he has none.' Compare the same type of idea put positively a few words further on: ideo ego *pro illo* (sc. servo) debeo.

5, 21, 3 (141: 4): quomodo fenerator quosdam debitores non adpellat, quos scit decoxisse et in quorum pudorem nihil superest nisi quod pereat, sic ego quosdam ingratos palam ac pertinaciter praeteribo.

We have Muret's excision of *nisi* and Madvig's alteration of *quod* to *quo*, and an examination of the various translations, both French and English, shows the Gordian knot cut in a variety of ways. I look on *pudorem* as having an active meaning with *quorum* for its objective genitive and venture the rendering: 'to shame whom (into paying) nothing is left but what is wasted effort.' Once they have gone bankrupt, any further attempt to get them to pay anything on their debts is simply waste energy. This parallels satisfactorily Seneca's idea of ignoring absolutely a certain type of ingrate, the persistent and flagrant type, as presenting no prospect of making any return for a benefit received.

6, 41, 2 (178: 6 sqq.): si necessitas alterutri nostrum imminet fatoque quodam datum est, ut aut tu cogaris beneficium recipere aut ego *alterum* accipere, det potius qui solet.

Alterum is, as Buck says (p. 75), unnecessary. As for the last words they read strangely in the context. The point under discussion is the giving or the receiving back of a benefit when the duress of Necessity or Fate rests on one or the other of the parties; so far as the giving is concerned or the returning of a benefit, that must be undertaken by the one who in the circumstances *can* do so, quite apart from the question of whether he has been *in that habit* or not. Indeed the context makes it clear that a change of relations may have to be faced; the sentence should therefore end: 'let him do the giving who finds himself able to do so.' I venture to suggest that the original text was not *solet* but *polet*, the older spelling of *pollet* mentioned by Festus. The phrase thus rewritten constitutes half an hexameter, assuming that *polet* has the scansional value of *pollet*, and might conceivably be an Ennian quotation, just as in the next sentence we have a half-line from Vergil. The case dealt with here has already been quite extensively touched on in 5, 2, 3, and the situation of the more fortunate party is there described by the words *si alter plus potuit*.

7, 15, 3 (194: 29): merito istud diceret ei, qui tibi reddidit voluntatem otiosam, huic vero, qui et vult et conatur et nihil intemptatum relinquit, id non potes dicere.

N exhibits here: huic vero debes & qui vult et conatur et nihil intemptatum relinquit et non potes dicere. I am influenced by the parallelism of *debes* and *potes* and also by

60 FURTHER NOTES ON TEXT OF SENECA'S *DE BENEFICIIS*

the *et* before *potes* to believe that the original form of the mutilated passage was: huic vero et <non> debes, qui vult et conatur et nihil intemptatum relinquit, et non potes dicere, the object of the infinite *dicere* being still the *istud* before *diceres*. The breaking up of the parallel statement et <non> debes . . . et non potes by the insertion of the explanatory *qui* clause has been the grief of copyists. <Non> debes, which might be expected to be the second limb as a matter of emphasis, comes first through the influence of *merito diceres* preceding.

7, 30, 1 (206: 26): saepe quod explicari pertinacia potuit, violentia trahentis abruptum est.

N reads simply: quod explicari pertinacia trahentis abruptum est; the *potuit* is from the early editors and *violentia* from Haupt. Buck (p. 82) ingeniously suggests reading *explicaris* followed by a comma, the verb-form to be regarded as a potential subjunctive; 'often what you may have unravelled, has got broken off by the obstinacy of someone tugging at it.' Possibly the *explicaris* might be better explained as a future perfect and the *abruptum est* treated as a 'gnomic' perfect, of which the *De Beneficiis* provides many examples.

Buck suggests a possible citation from a lost play, and it might very conceivably take the form: Quod explicaris, saepe pertinacia Trahenti abruptumst, quoted by Seneca without special care for exactitude.

The text of the *De Beneficiis* presents problems still unsolved; one would scarcely guess their existence from the plausibility of the translators. But if he concentrates on the Latin text, he will realize how often they fail to come to grips with reality.

W. H. ALEXANDER.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA, EDMONTON, CANADA.

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SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. LVI. 3. July-September 1935.

J. H. Oliver: *The Marathon Epigrams*. Discusses the restoration of these epigrams (I.G. I² 763) in the light of information provided by a stone recently discovered in the Agora. L. A. Holland: *Place Names and Heroes in the Aeneid*. Suggests that the 'misplaced' heroes, such as Messapus, were introduced into the catalogue for the sake of the legendary or geographical associations that clung to their names. W. H. Alexander: *Critical Notes: Seneca's Dialogi VII-XII*. Considers twenty passages from these six dialogues. H. Mattingly and E. S. G. Robinson: Further arguments in support of the author's views regarding *novi nummi* and the bearing of the phrase on the date of the *Casina*. E. F. D'Arms: *The Date and Nature of the Lex Thoria*. Seeks to show that this law was passed later than 111 B.C., and dealt only with the right of pasturing cattle on the *ager publicus*. G. H. Macurdy: *Julia Berenice*. A sketch of the character and career of this daughter of King Agrippa. T. Frank: *Tau Gallicum: Vergil, Catalepton II, 4*. Shows that the point of the epigram is that the subject of it lisped.

LVI. 4. October-December, 1935.

K. Malone: In Memoriam notice of Hermann Collitz. R. Carpenter: *Early Ionic Writing*. Concludes that a separate symbol for long *e* was primitive in the Ionic alphabet, while Ω was introduced about 575 B.C. E. T. Salmon: *Catiline, Crassus and Caesar*. Suggests that the situation in 63 B.C. was deliberately provoked by Crassus, immediately after the death of Mithridates. B. D. Meritt: *Some Details of the Athenian Constitution*. Offers further evidence that festival accounts were normally paid before the actual celebration. F. R. B. Godolphin: *The Source of Plutarch's Thesis in the Lives of Galba and Otho*. Holds that both Plutarch and Tacitus were considerably influenced by Cluvius Rufus. H. N. Fowler: *Notes on the Text of Plutarch's Moralia*. Discusses the text of twelve passages between 772B and 830D. T. Frank: *The Financial Crisis of 33 A.D.* Finds the real cause in the contraction of the currency after the lavishness of Augustus' early years. G. W. Elderkin: *OITOSYROS and OIORPATA*. Holds that these words are of Hittite, not Iranian, origin. J. C. Lawson: *Aeschylus Persae 858-63*. A posthumous examination of the four scholia in M, which attempts to re-establish the text on the assumption that the first scholium is also the oldest and best. B. D. Merritt: *Inscriptions of Colophon*. Gives a long and fully documented account of the inscriptions found between 1922 and 1925.

LVII. 1. January 1936.

L. Van Hook: *New Light on the Classical Scholarship of Thomas Gray*. Chiefly a description of the poet's classical note-books now in the Morgan Library, New York. W. E. Blake: *Modal Usages in Chariton*. Classifies the author's use of the moods other than indicative. G. Boas: *Presuppositions of Aristotle's Physics*. Collects the axioms underlying this work, as (a) methodological, (b) on the nature of change, and (c) the natural. B. Einarson: *On Certain Mathematical Terms in Aristotle's Logic*. Traces the mathematical connotation of much of Aristotle's technical vocabulary, e.g., στοιχείον, ἀξίωμα, αἴτημα, λήμμα. J. E. Fontenrose: *Notes on Milesian Inscriptions*. Discusses two inscriptions from Dindyma (Hausoullier *Rev. Phil* XLV, pp. 51-6 and *Inscr. Gr. Br. Mus.* 922). G. E. Duckworth: *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Post-homerica of Quintus of Smyrna*. Argues that Quintus' use of this literary device

resembles that of Vergil, and is probably based on imitation of the Aeneid. T. Frank: *On the Export Tax of Spanish Harbours*. Regards the symbol *áá* etc., found on fragmentary jars, as a statement of the export tax in *asses*.

LVII. 2. April 1936.

D. J. Campbell: *Two MSS. of the Elder Pliny*. Records an examination of one MS. in the private (Phillipps) collection at Cheltenham and another in the Bodleian (*Auct.* I. 1. 27). A. Dilter: *Two Greek Forgeries of the Sixteenth Century*. Suggests that the geographical *Opuscula* of Nicephorus Blemnides were actually compiled by Antonius Episcopus and that the attribution of the scolia on Dionysius Periegetes to Demetrius of Lampsacus has no authority. E. Fiesal: *The Hercules Legend on the Etruscan Mirror from Volterra*. Attempts a new translation of the Etruscan inscription. J. C. Rolfe: *On Ammianus Marcellinus* XXIII, 3, 9. Proposes *alias* before *machinas*. H. Meritt: *Old English Sedulius Glosses*. Gives a list of 'scratched' glosses in the Sedulius MS. at Cambridge. B. Einarson: *On Certain Mathematical Terms in Aristotle's Logic*. Continues the previous article, discussing the 'proportional' terms, e.g. *μείζων* and *ἐλάττω* ὄρος. T. R. S. Broughton: *On Two Passages of Cicero Referring to Local Taxes in Asia*. Deals with *ad Att.* V. 16. 2 (*ὧνὰς omnium venditas*) and *Pro Flacco*, 91 (*fructus* = local revenues of Tralles). L. A. Post: *Notes on the Epinomis*. Discusses a number of possible emendations in passages between 974B and 991C. B. D. Meritt: *A New Date in the Fifth Century*. Finds evidence for the relation between the conciliar year 418/17 and the civil year 417/16 in *I.G.* 1² 94 and 302. L. R. Taylor: *The Publici Lucilii Gamalae of Ostia*. Suggests that the Gamala of *C.I.L.* XIV, 375, flourished under Trajan, and that the *bellum navale* mentioned was the Naumachia of 109 A.D.

Classical Philology. XXXI. 3. July, 1936.

J. Whatmough: *New Messapic Inscriptions, being Supplement II. to The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*. N. W. de Witt, *Organisation and Procedure in Epicurean Groups*: examines the evidence for a system of grades in the brotherhood, the relations between them and the technique of 'corrective ethics.' J. J. Schlicher, *Caesar's Narrative Style*: the legalistic argumentation of *B.G.* i is followed by an elaborately periodic narrative style in *B.G.* ii-iv, which is gradually relieved in *B.G.* v-vii and *B.C.* by redistribution, increase in the use of participial phrases (instead of subordinate clauses), unemphatic connective particles, etc. This change at *B.G.* v coincides with changes in handling of matter—use of direct speech, detailed accounts of dramatic situations, etc.—which transform military despatches into history. He connects the change with the romantic expectations aroused by the expedition to Britain and the prospect of Cicero's poem. Helen H. Law, *The Poems of Archias*: attempts to distinguish the work of three poets—A. of Antioch, A. of Mytilene and A. of Byzantium among the 40 poems ascribed to Archias in the *Gk. Anth.*: 'Archias the Younger' is to be identified with A. of Antioch. J. N. Hough, *Continuity of Time in Plautus*: illustrates P's use of incidental phrases to adjust the sequence of time disturbed by the necessity for continuous stage-action. G. W. Elderkin, *Dionysus Eleutheros and Liber*: D. was the national god of the Phrygians and the Att. title Eleutheros is a translation of *Lyd.* βρύγα, 'free', from which their name is derived. The deme-name Alopeke, 'fox-skin', also commemorates the invasion of Dion. Bassareus from the North. R. V. Cram on Virgil, *Aen.* 2. 255, examines the views of commentators on *amica silentia lunae* with reference to the traditions of the time of the capture of Troy: he thinks that *sil. lunae* must have the meaning which *luna silens* had for the Roman farmer—'the dark of the (new) moon'—and that throughout the passage V. had in mind the moon in the last quarter. W. Helmholt on *Anth. Gr.* xvi (App. Plan.), 54.2 conjectures πνεῦμα ταθείς for the meaningless πνεύματι θείς.

Hermes vol. 70. Heft 1.

C. Ritter, *Unterteilungen innerhalb der zeitlich ersten Gruppe Platonischer Schriften*. Subdivides the earliest of the three chronological groups of P.'s dialogues established by Campbell, Dittenberger etc., into two, on the evidence of the usage of various particles etc.—thus, earlier subgroup, Hippias II, Charmides, Laches, Protagoras, Euthyphro, Apologia, Crito, Gorgias, Meno; later, Hippias I, Euthydemus, Menexenus, Cratylus, Lysis, Symposium, Phaedo, Politica I.

E. Lobel, *Callimachea*. Puts together from various scattered publications a text of the beginning of the *Aitia* as continuous as the nature of the material permits.

E. Bethe, *Homerphilologie heute und künftig*. Discusses modern treatments of the Homeric Question, attacks especially the claim of Jacoby to have established a date, place, and history for a personal Homer.

H. Fraenkel, *Griechische Bildung in altrömischen Epen* II (cf. *Hermes* vol. 67. (1932) p. 303 f.). Discusses (1) Naevius *B.P.* fr. 19; (2) Ennius *Ann.* 147/8; (3) *ib.* 521/2; (4) *ib.* 503/8; (5) *ib.* 194/201.

W. H. Friedrich, *Zum Aulischen Iphigenie*. Examines (1) Achilles' share in I.'s fate; (2) the part played by Agamemnon; (3) the bearing of this on the authenticity of the anapaestic Prologue.

MISZELLEN: P. Maas and J. Müller-Blattau, *Kircher und Pindar*. Examine K.'s *fragmentum Pindari antiquissimum notis musicis veterum Graecorum insignitum* from the point of view (a) of the text; (b) of the melody, and conclude that it is a forgery by K.

K. Deichgräber, *Original und Nachahmung. Zu Ps.-Aristoteles Magna Moralia und Ps.-Hippokrates Παράγγελαι*. Produces evidence of non-Aristotelian authorship of *M.M.* Discusses passages in *Παρ.* and shows their dependence on parts of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* as well as on Epicurus etc.

W. Kranz, *Vorsokratisches III*. Discusses the Katharmoi and the Physica of Empedocles and their relation to each other.

B. Snell, *Zwei Töpfe mit Euripides-Papyri*. Shows from the alphabetical arrangement of the plays preserved in L that this MS. is derived from a papyrus edition of Euripides kept in *τεύχη* containing five plays each.

A. Körte, *Zu Καλλιμάχου διηγήσεις*. Gives improved text of col. iv. 23 f.

Heft 2.

K. Meuli, *Scythica*. Recognizes in Hdt. 4. 71 etc. evidence of Shamanism among the Scythians—discusses the character and extension of this, and suggests ways in which ethnological material may be used to illustrate the beginnings of higher cultures.

F. Hampl, *Olynth und der Chalkidische Staat*. Maintains that the character of the Olynthian state (=the Chalcidian state) remained unchanged from 479 to its destruction by Philip in 348. Thus there was no synoecism in 432: the fourth century synoecism (after 379) did not result in the formation of a league.

R. Walzer, *Zum Hautontimorumenos des Terenz*. Regards this as an uncontaminated translation of Menander, and examines it in its relation to Peripatetic doctrines.

H. Drexler, *Parerga Caesariana*. Observations on (1) *Anticato* and the *De Analogia*; (2) *Bellum Hispaniense*; (3) The meaning of the term '*Commentarii*.'

MISZELLEN: P. Maas and L. Wickert, *Zu den Perserepigrammen*. M. reads in v. 3. *πεῖοί τε καὶ ὀκυπόδον ἐπὶ πόλιν*: W. produces historical evidence for the existence of *ἱππεῖς* at Athens in 490 B.C.

M. Bowra, *Zu Alkaios und Sappho*. Emends and expounds various passages.

F. Dornseiff, *Homerphilologie*. Replies to Bethe's article in Heft 1 above.

H. Fuchs, *Latina*. Comments on various passages from Ennius, Seneca, Horace, Cato.

Heft 3.

F. Klingner, *Über die Recensio der Horazhandschriften I.* Examines the Greek headings which occur in MSS. of the Horatian lyrics with a view to the classification of the MSS. and the mutual relations of the three groups established by Keller and Holder.

M. Gelzer, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit der bei Livius überlieferten Senats-beschlüsse über römische Truppenaufgebote.* Discusses the rhetorical technique of the later Annalists from whom Livy took his material; in the light of this considers the figures given by Livy for the later third and earlier second centuries B.C. and assigns them to their sources.

R. Heydell, *Die Dichter mit Namen Peisandros.* Shows that of the two poets of this name, one, about whom nothing else is in fact known, wrote a *Heracleia*, the other is the poet of *Laranda* (*temp.* Alexander Severus) who wrote a large work on *Ἡροικὰ θεογονίαι* which contained an account of the fall of Troy. Hence Macrobius is wrong. It was not Virgil who borrowed from P. but P. from him.

J. Lenglé, *Zum Prozess Jesu.* Argues from consideration of the Cyrene edicts and of other Jewish cases, that the Jews had the right to hold capital trials in the case of religious offences, with the proviso that the governor had to approve the choice of the members of the court, the penalty being death by stoning. But the offence of Jesus—his Messiahship, religious for the Jews, was political for the Romans. Hence the Jews having proved the case took it to the procurator, and Jesus was condemned for treason and suffered the Roman punishment.

K. Deichgräber, *Die Kadmos-Teiresias-szene in Euripides' Bakchen.* Discusses in detail the scene between Cadmus and Teiresias (170 sqq.) and explains its relation to the play as a whole and its bearing on E.'s dramatic technique.

MISZELLEN: E. Hobl, *Primum facinus novi principatus.* Argues that it was Augustus not Tiberius who gave orders for the execution of Agrippa Postumus.

B. Snell, *Das I-ah des goldenen Esels.* Points out that the jokes on the subject in Apuleius must be translated from the Greek as they have point only in that language.

C. Wendel, *Leandrios.* Distinguishes between Maiandrios and L., and dates latter in the first generation of the Alexandrian scholar-poets.

Heft 4.

F. Klingner, *Über die Recensio der Horazhandschriften II.* Supports the view expressed in the first article (above, Heft 3) as to the relation of the MSS. by a detailed examination of crucial readings.

M. Dercsényi, *Exegetische Bemerkungen zu Platons Theaetet.* Discussion of 152d; 153a; 154c-155c; 160b; 161c; 179b; 189a; 193d, e; 205d.

F. Egermann, *Der Dialog des Tacitus und Platons Gorgias.* Argues that the debate between Aper and Maternus in the Dialogus rests eventually on that between Socrates and Calicles in the Gorgias.

A. Körte, *Zu Menanders Θεοφορουμένη*, prints an emended text of the Oxyrhynchus fragment published by Vitelli and Norsa in *Ann. della R. Scuola Norm. Sup. di Pisa* 4 (1935) p. 1f. Gives reasons for supporting its attribution to the Theophoromene of Menander.

G. Nebel, *Der Begriff des καθήκον in der alten Stoa.* Discusses the development of the meaning of K. in the Stoic writers down to Epictetus and Fronto.

MISZELLEN: W. Peck, *Eine Herme des Hipparch.* Reports the re-discovery and gives the correct text of *I.G.I.*² 837. Shows that it is the base of one of the *Hermes* set up by Hipparchus (Ps.-Plato, *Hipparchus* 229a). Illustration of the stone.

P. Friedländer and H. Birtner, *Pindar oder Kircher.* Defend the authenticity of the Pindar Melody attacked by Maas and Müller-Blattau (above, Heft 1).

W. Schwahn, *Der Verdienst der Sicilischen Decumani.* Discusses on the evidence of passages from Cicero's *Verrines* the percentage profit earned by the tithe-collectors.

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